America's Fears and Opportunities—*Harold J. Laski*

THE *Nation*

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July 9, 1949

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*

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 169 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 9, 1949 NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

ADJACENT HEADLINES IN THE NEW YORK *Herald Tribune* told their own ironic story on Wednesday of last week: "Housing Bill Passed, 228-185, in Major Victory for Truman"; "Taft Act Foes Admit Repeal Fight Is Lost." The following day, the Senate threw out the Administration's proposed labor law, choosing instead a slightly watered-down version of the Taft-Hartley act. In less than twenty-four hours, the Fair Deal had won, narrowly, its first victory, and had suffered its most serious defeat. And the score at the end of the week might well have stood "victories—0, defeats—2" if it were not for the valiant support given to housing by a number of liberal Republicans in the House, led by Representative Javits of New York. When die-hards made a last-minute attempt to cut out the heart of the National Housing Bill—its public-housing provisions—Javits and his colleagues cast twenty-four decisive votes against the amendment, which lost by just five votes. The bill as a whole then passed without difficulty. However shaky this triumph, the government now reenters the housing field, at long last, a fact for which very many Americans will be grateful. Even though we have never thought that any of the housing legislation proposed since the war, starting with the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, went far enough in attempting to solve the problem of "homeless America," the measure now given us is at least a start in the right direction. It provides a billion and a half dollars in loans and grants for slum clearance, calls for the erection of 810,000 low-rent public-housing units during the next six years, and establishes a modest rural-housing program and an ambitious research project to discover ways of increasing construction efficiency while reducing costs. What the bill does *not* provide for is the middle-income home-seeker. If and when we get a Congress that really wants a Fair Deal, this will be a priority target.

*

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DOESN'T WANT THE labor vote. There is some ground for wondering whether it ever again wants to win an election. That is the only political interpretation one can make of that party's approach to a revised labor law. Senator Morse, the maverick G. O. P. Senator from Oregon, was heard to comment as he left the floor after the vote, "You just saw several Republican Senators committing suicide." And Thomas E. Coleman, a Stassen backer in 1948, resigned last week from the party's strategy committee because it had failed to develop anything like a strategy. Conversely, the Administration is widely reported to be less upset over the Senate's renewal of the Taft-Hartley act, in the spirit if not the letter, than such a reversal would lead the innocent citizen to expect. As compensation for its failure to deliver on one of its principal election promises, it hears President Green warn of the American Federation of Labor's determination to go after the preservers of the injunction, "with our sights trained on the 1950 election." It hears Philip Murray promise to submit their records to the "political judgment of the voters at the next elections." Nobody seriously questions the contribution of organized labor to the Dewey debacle of 1948, nor the findings of Elmo Roper which we cited in the last issue of this magazine. The inescapable inference to be drawn from those findings was that the Republican Party was doomed to oblivion unless it found a way to appeal to the low-income voter. By enacting, with Dixiecrat help, what Senator Pepper calls "a bob-tailed edition of the Taft-Hartley act," it has embarked on the search with its eyes shut tight and a long step backwards.

*

LAST WEEK FRANCE AND BELGIUM OFFERED evidence of different kinds to prove the same thing: that the present political equilibrium in both countries is the result of thin and temporary compromises rather than of real agreement on fundamental issues. In France shrewd Henri Queuille succeeded once more in saving his Cabinet from collapse by reconciling the views of the Socialists, who resist the general retreat from nationalization, with those of the Radicals, who favor a return to pre-war economics. The bill voted by the National Assembly last Thursday, after serious opposition, provides for the reorganization of some nationalized aviation plants, with a partial return to private operation, and the closing of others. This is one of those tricky solutions at which the French Premier is a master, but it leaves unsolved the underlying issue of a directed, more-or-less-Socialist economy versus free enterprise. The Socialists are beginning to tire of making these repeated concessions to save the Third Force. The most significant symptom of the alarm in Socialist ranks is the series of articles with which Léon Blum has signified his reap-

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pearance in political life after his long illness. Acknowledging that the party is losing impetus, he attributes the trouble to the present electoral law based on proportional representation. In Belgium the elections brought a severe reverse for the Communists, with the result that the conservative Dr. Paul van Zeeland will replace the Socialist Paul-Henri Spaak as Premier. But even the victory scored by the rejuvenated Christian Social (clerical) Party was not decisive enough to insure the return of the King; so that most controversial question is still up in the air.

*

WHETHER THE MOST SWEEPING PERJURY IN a generation has been committed by Alger Hiss or by Whittaker Chambers will probably have been decided by the time this issue of *The Nation* appears. At the moment we can only note that the offense has obviously been compounded many times over in the courtroom of Judge Samuel H. Kaufman. It has been elaborated with rich detail, shot through with creative imagination, and supported down to the last vivid lie by the wife of the offender, whichever he may be. Since Hiss's volcanic counsel, Lloyd Paul Stryker, had in the early days of the trial elicited from Chambers the admission of seven perjuries committed under previous oaths, it remained for Thomas F. Murphy, the prosecutor, to make an appreciable dent in the credibility of Mr. and Mrs. Hiss, who were themselves the principal witnesses for the defense. The extent to which Murphy succeeded is hardly for us to estimate at the time of this writing, but it is fair to say that except to emotional partisans—there are many, on both sides, and they include newspaper reporters—the affair is far from simple. Even on the surface, on the level of technical guilt or innocence of the perjury charge, it is complicated by serious discrepancies on both sides, testimony difficult to credit, and yawning gaps left for inference. Below this legalistic crust the case plumbs depths rarely touched in an American court—a political underground that bred either an Alger Hiss capable of the ultimate in polished deception for the sake of a cause or a Whittaker Chambers capable of devoting years of his life to the construction of a conspiracy to destroy an innocent man. The proprieties of the law demand that we withhold detailed interpretation of the case, on all its levels, until the verdict is in, after which we will publish the third and last of Robert Bendiner's reports on the trial.

*

SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER'S FRIENDS were right to have persuaded him to remain in the Senate these past two years. In spite of his illness, his prestige was enormous and his word was far-reaching. As long as there was the slightest chance that his health would eventually enable him to reassume the burden of work he once carried, neither his own state of New York nor

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the country could afford to forego his services. Now, as he sadly points out, that he "can no longer rely on a hope so long deferred," his retirement is a duty which he accepts with characteristic courage. The man who gave the country the Social Security Act, its first national housing legislation, and a Magna Charta for labor is also a faithful party man and a good politician. There is no doubt that his resignation now, rather than after July 8, puts the Republicans on something of a spot. Under the law his timing forces a Senatorial election in the fall instead of allowing Governor Dewey to appoint a successor to fill out his term. Unless all signs fail, the Democratic nominee for the post will be former Governor Herbert H. Lehman, one of the best vote-getters in the history of the state. His presence on the top of the ticket next fall is expected to switch the emphasis of the elections from state issues to national and to carry for the Democrats local and Congressional offices that might otherwise be safely Republican. From a strictly partisan point of view, such a move is no doubt the best of strategy. But it will be no boon to liberals if a Lehman is allowed to serve as cover for inferior nominees farther down on the ticket. In particular, this concern bears on the mayoralty race in New York City, where machine leaders want nothing more than to win with a nonentity.

*

DR. WILLIAM JANSEN, WHOSE ACTIONS AS Superintendent of the New York City schools have more than once been criticized in these pages, is again under fire. This time the attack comes from the Commission on Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York. In four terse, blistering pages, the commission has drawn a ten-count indictment which, if proved, will require fundamental school reforms. After conceding that New York's children do learn the three R's, the report finds the following glaring deficiencies: scandalously insufficient physical equipment; an unjust tenure policy for substitute teachers and dangerously overcrowded classes; a truancy policy on practically a police-court basis; frustration of the humane, social approach to child guidance fought for by the late Dr. Caroline Zachery; a benighted attitude toward mentally retarded children; scuttling of the Youthbuilders program of democratic education in response to the attacks of the Brooklyn *Tablet,* Roman Catholic diocesan newspaper; censorship, not only of *The Nation,* but of "Gentleman's Agreement," "One God," and other materials valuable in achieving intergroup friendship and understanding; submission to pressure, again initiated by the *Tablet,* resulting in the failure to appoint Dr. Bryn J. Hovde President of Queens College; reinstatement of May Quinn as social-studies teacher after a departmental trial found her guilty of teaching racial and religious bigotry; and, finally, distasteful political maneuvering in connection with appointments to the supposedly nonpartisan Board of Education. Dr. Jansen has not denied any of the charges, but he has complained that no attempt was made to get "our point of view." If the thorough investigation of the school system proposed by Bishop Charles K. Gilbert and by the Public Education Association is really undertaken, Dr. Jansen will have his opportunity for rebuttal. But the burden now seems to be on him to demonstrate that the school system is not so vulnerable to attack as the Episcopal report would indicate.

Reciprocal Recessions

NEWS of sharp disagreement between authorities of the British government and those of the United States about trade and monetary policy has recently been mingled with alarming reports concerning Britain's economic situation. The United Kingdom has made a five-year bilateral trade agreement with Argentina which was roundly condemned by Senators and Mr. Paul Hoffman testifying before them in Washington. British representatives are said to be at odds with other Marshall Plan nations about arrangements for transferability of currency, with America backing Britain's opponents. At the same time the newspapers and air-waves have been full of statements about dwindling balances of dollars and gold in London, which are said to threaten drastic cuts in the British food supply and still more sacrifices for an austerity-weary nation.

These are complex matters, interwoven in a skein which is difficult to untangle. Yet some sense can be made out of them if we trace each of the main threads.

The Anglo-Argentine pact, completed after long and difficult negotiations, pledges Britain to buy from Argentina large amounts of agricultural products, at agreed prices, in return for Argentine purchases from Britain of oil, machinery, and other goods. Its five-year term does not expire until after Marshall Plan aid ends in 1952. It is a bi-lateral trade agreement of the sort which the United States discourages, and which is barred, after the end of the post-war emergency, by the Geneva agreement on tariffs and trade and the Havana charter of the International Trade Organization.

The objection of the American authorities is based on principles of free trade and on Britain's many pledges to abide by them as soon as possible. No doubt the outcry is sharpened by the fact that American exporters of oil and machinery have been selling, and want to continue to sell, to Argentines the goods that Argentina will now buy from British concerns. Objection also comes from American producers of meat, grain, and other products.

Why should these countries wish to make such an agreement, despite opposition in the United States? The obvious answer is that neither has enough dollars to buy

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all they otherwise might wish to buy from those who demand dollars in payment. Argentina does not have enough dollars because we do not buy the output of its agriculture. Not only do we fail to buy it; we deliberately exclude a chief Argentine product—beef—by a ruling as restrictive in effect as any of which we complain on the part of others. Britain's dollar shortage has been the chief factor in its post-war crisis. The loss of income from foreign investments, the loss of shipping income, the diminution of exports of tin and rubber from its Far Eastern possessions to the United States, have all played a part. It is true that Marshall Plan aid was extended to bridge this gap, but the niggardliness of Congress has forced Britain to spend its dollars reluctantly. While nobody doubts that the Marshall Plan will end, in its present form, in 1952, no informed person doubts that Britain will still have a substantial dollar deficit when that date arrives.

The same dollar shortage complicates the effort to approach free, multilateral trade inside Europe. Why cannot all European currencies, at least, be freely exchanged without bi-lateral bargains of one kind or another? Everybody admits this would facilitate trade and production, and is an objective to be attained as soon as possible. But Britain has to guard against the draining away of the dollar supply of the sterling area into the hands of those who might use the dollars to buy goods from North America which it painfully denies itself. Some European countries which do not feel so pinched for dollars, such as Belgium or Switzerland, would probably do this. It would be politically disastrous, not to say unjust, for the British government to lose so much of its dollar store in pursuit of the multilateral trading ideal that it has to impose semi-starvation on British workers, while the Belgium or Swiss business classes were living in luxury on the goods these dollars will buy.

Britain's scarcity of dollars was aggravated by the inflation of prices in the United States—a development for which Congress is directly responsible. The end of this inflation must be welcomed by Britain as well as by other consumers. Unfortunately, however, the recession which brought somewhat reduced prices also brought, in their train, reduced employment and purchasing power. Americans are spending less, not only at home, but throughout the world, and that diminishes the supply of dollars available to Britain and its customers at the same time that it increases the amount a dollar will buy. It also intensifies the competition between American and British producers. British manufacturers can no longer be sustained by a sellers' market.

Ever since the war it has been said by every student of the subject that as long as production and employment expanded, the solution of international trade rivalries would be easier. Many economic problems are dissolved in full employment: it concentrates attention on the task of producing enough and keeping prices within reason. It has also been said many times, and truthfully, that the greatest danger the world had to fear was a depression originating in the United States, by far the weightiest factor in the world economy, and one which could infect all the rest with its economic instability. The American recession is therefore a dark cloud on the horizon, arousing serious forebodings in London especially.

So far, Britain has withstood the infection. Its employment remains high, its production and exports have steadily increased. But its dollar earnings have begun to sag, and this makes the government most reluctant to abandon controls designed to conserve them. At the same time, recession intensifies the objection of powerful American interests to any restriction of markets which they might invade if prices alone were considered. Britain must redouble its drive for greater efficiency if it is to maintain its present progress.

It is a time for patience and wise economic policy in the United States. We cannot regain free and expanding world markets so long as Britain is burdened with anxiety about its dollar shortage. We cannot reasonably ask it to leap into the dark. Above all, we cannot stimulate world recovery unless we can keep our own economy on an even keel. Let us concentrate on stopping short our own recession. If we do that, the progress already made elsewhere can continue. If we fail, our economic troubles will be reflected in exaggerated form in countries now dependent upon our aid, with political consequences easy to foresee.

Church and Revolution

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

ONE thing should be remembered in any discussion of the tug-of-war between church and state in Eastern Europe: revolution and Rome are fundamentally, historically, and permanently incompatible. Unless one keeps this fact clearly in mind, it is easy to be distracted by more or less extraneous items: the character and record of Cardinal Mindszenty or Archbishop Beran or the exact charges against them; the compromises offered by the state or the divisions among the clergy; the protests of Mr. Acheson and the denunciations of the Vatican, not to mention the insistence of the various Communist governments that they want peace with the church and punish only enemies of the state. All these are details whose meaning must be read in the light of the permanent war of which the contests in each country are merely battles.

This does not mean that a truce may not be arranged in Czechoslovakia or a showdown postponed. Beran is still free and the Prague government is obviously trying to effect some sort of a compromise. Mindszenty was

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ready to make a deal with the Hungarian government before his trial, and might have succeeded if he had made up his mind a little earlier. All the Communist governments have treated the church with considerable circumspection. Their strategy has been to consolidate their political power and push through land reforms and other basic revolutionary measures while maintaining, however illogically and temporarily, existing relations with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Knowing the hold the church has over the minds of the people, particularly in the more backward rural areas, they deliberately postponed action challenging that loyalty.

In general, and this was true in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere, the governments were content to arrest a few "political priests" who agitated against the regime or a church dignitary accused of conniving with "foreign imperialists"; but church schools were permitted and, until very recently, religious instruction was included in the public-school curriculum, church properties—except for landed estates—were protected, and state funds continued to be used to help support religious institutions and to pay priests. The usual anti-religious propaganda was noticeably absent, and still is. In the Mindszenty trial the government refrained from introducing any of the Cardinal's "religious" statements, including a series of provocative pastoral letters, and relied entirely on evidence to show his "secular" activities against the state.

Apart from their wish to avoid antagonizing the pious majority, at least until the social revolution was effected, it is probable that the Communist authorities have intended from the beginning to lay the basis for a state-controlled church, along the lines laid down in Russia, when the inevitable clash with Rome should finally take place. To do this meant retaining the structure and institutions, and even some of the prerogatives, of the established religion and gradually drawing them under Communist control. That may happen, but not without a war of repressions and excommunications such as is already in progress.

For the stubborn historical fact mentioned at the start of this article stands in the way of either a peaceful coexistence of Roman church and revolutionary state or a peaceful *gleichschaltung* between the two. Rome cannot possibly abandon its hostility to social revolution. In countries where the Roman Catholic church is established, where it dominates the schools, controls charity, and owns land, and where the state contributes to its support, fundamental social change obviously threatens its very existence. Never has a revolution been accomplished in a Catholic country without a conflict with the church—not in France or in Mexico or in Spain (where fascist counterrevolution restored the power of the church which in turn defends the dictatorship) or today in Eastern Europe.

But communism brings another element into the old struggle. For here the contest between church and revolution is carried on by two monolithic forces; here the authoritarian church faces, not a revolutionary movement directed by local, often mutually conflicting groups and leaders, but a supernational body as authoritarian as itself in structure, creed, and power. Temporarily, at least, the revolutionary force has the upper hand in Eastern Europe. For while the church, as always, can depend upon its imposing weight and inertia and its authority to dispense or withhold the favors of the Almighty, the party has comparable and not wholly dissimilar powers. Through the state it can dispense immediate economic and social benefits, made possible by the overthrow of the old system, and at the same time give the people an ideal, partly religious in quality, of progress and equality.

It could be argued that in this competition for the minds of men the church has the advantage, since its promises need not be redeemed on this earth. But even if the actual benefits of the revolution seldom measure up to the slogans, they are at least tangible; and the program is one which can be at least partly fulfilled within the lifetime of those who support it. No honest visitor to Eastern Europe will deny that the revolutions there have tapped rich resources of hope and constructive energy and changed the lives of millions of people for whom the old order meant insecurity and hunger and ignorance. This is least true, of course, in Czechoslovakia, where relative prosperity and experience of democracy had created skepticism toward the creeds of both church and party. But even there, the benefits of revolution are appreciated, even while its penalties are opposed, and the conflict with the church is resented actively only in the solid Catholic areas.

In any case, there as elsewhere in Europe the two absolutisms are joined in a battle that seems certain to end in a retreat by the church. For the state has more than its revolutionary creed to support it; it has the police and army. Where it cannot induce a satisfactory agreement it will use repression, for the one thing it cannot tolerate is the presence of another power of the same absolute nature as its own. This is the rock on which its attempts to avoid trouble have inevitably been broken.

On the other hand, the Czech government would undoubtedly prefer a compromise which would give it the substance of power. Unlike non-Communist revolutionary regimes, which are driven by the dynamics of radicalism to fight the church on grounds of principle, Communist regimes can afford to yield ground. The Czech authorities have criticized the clergy on many points; but it is significant that the chief demand made of Archbishop Beran is that he permit the Bishops to take a new pledge of loyalty to the state. That done, the state is apparently prepared to make a generous deal—restoring the authority of the church over its press, permitting parochial schools, paying compensation for the expro-

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riation of church property, and even raising priests' salaries. But the Primate firmly refuses the conditions precedent to all this, for he rightly interprets the loyalty pledge as a betrayal of the other authoritarian power to which he owes his first allegiance.

It is possible, of course, that the break in the ranks of Czechoslovak Catholics, represented by the government-approved Catholic Action, will grow in spite of the Vatican's order of excommunication. If so, we may see the beginning of a new major schism, out of which might emerge national Catholic establishments functioning under the protection of the various Eastern governments as the Russian Orthodox church does under the Soviet government. Enough information has come out to indicate that many Catholics, including many priests, would like to practice their faith and yet come to terms with the government; as Catholics they have no antipathy to absolutism as such. But if this happens, it will happen in defiance of Rome. For while the Vatican has made deals with Nazis and Fascists, it has done so on terms which preserved not only its main sources of wealth but its undiminished authority over its clergy and communicants. And this no revolutionary regime, Communist or otherwise, can afford to yield.

The Right to Health

BY DAVID C. WILLIAMS

London, June 24

BRITAIN'S National Health Service has been in operation for almost a year—not long in the history of a service which will take a generation to build but long enough to give the people confidence that it is moving along in the right direction. The service has grown up amid impassioned debate. Parliament, the British Medical Association, the body of progressive doctors who have campaigned for it year in and year out—all these and many others have had their say. The coincidence that national health insurance is for the first time being seriously considered in the United States has brought a veritable spate of American comment, informed and uninformed. Nearly everyone here—every political party without exception—has rallied to the support of the service as a permanent feature of British life. Discussion now centers on how to improve it and at the same time prevent it from absorbing an undue proportion of the government's income and the nation's resources.

The basic principles of the service are four in number. First, it is now the legal duty of the British government to provide a health service available to all, just as it has long been the duty of governments to provide a public-school system. The use of this service is not confined to those who contribute directly to its support any more than the use of the schools is confined to those who pay school taxes. In other words, it is not a *health-insurance* scheme like the system prevailing in Great Britain from 1911 to 1948 and that now proposed for the United States.

Second, the service is available to all the people, whatever their income, and not, as is the case in some countries, only to those below a certain income level. The well-to-do are not compelled to maintain a private service, with the consequent danger of a double standard of care. Of course, no one is compelled to patronize the public service, and those who are willing to pay twice for their medical care can still obtain private treatment, just as many Englishmen send their children to private schools although as taxpayers they support the government schools.

Third, the service is complete. It covers both physical and mental illnesses, includes family doctors and specialists, dentists and oculists, clinics and hospitals, masseuses and nurses, and provides not only medicine but all appliances, from wigs to artificial limbs.

Fourth, and most important, the service is *free at the time of treatment*. The cost is spread over the whole of people's working lives instead of being concentrated at the time the individual can least afford it—that is, when he is ill.

Besides Britain only the Soviet Union observes these four principles in their totality, and the standard of treatment there is not nearly so high as that expected as a matter of course in Britain. No reasonable person believed that the stroke of the Minister's pen which set the service under way last July 5 could bring into being overnight all the doctors, dentists, nurses, and hospitals necessary to make it fully effective. The shortage of general practitioners is not by British standards severe, but the shortage of nurses is estimated at over 30,000, with the result that many existing hospital beds cannot be used. The 10,000 dentists are less than half the number needed, as an American visitor can observe for himself by strolling down any working-class street.

Real progress is being made in all these respects. Existing resources are being deployed more effectively. In more than thirty areas, mostly seaside resorts and

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upper-class residential districts, new general practitioners have been forbidden to settle, so that they will establish themselves where there is more genuine need. Hospital services are being reorganized to make better use of the available doctors and nurses. More young people are being attracted to the health services. More students are entering the medical schools, and the number preparing to become dentists, which had been actually decreasing, has now taken an upward turn. In the first three months of the new service the number of nurses at work increased more than during the whole of the previous year, and the improvement continues. It is largely due to the fact that nurses now have for the first time effective means of negotiating collectively about their salaries and working conditions.

THERE is little evidence that the public is making unreasonable demands. The authoritative medical journal, the *Lancet*, says: "Practitioners, whether in town or country, agree that they are making hardly any more, and sometimes *fewer*, visits than they usually do. . . . Every account agrees that frivolous complaints are no commoner than before." Working-class families have been particularly good about not calling doctors to their homes. Some doctors grumble because mothers, when they come to have their own complaints treated, often bring their children for a check-up, but they admit when pressed that this may avert future trouble.

Every precaution is taken to insure that the interest of the patient is expressed. Laymen predominate over professional men by margins of three to one, or even more, on the Regional Hospital Boards and the Hospital Management Committees which work under them. Yet the doctors also feel that they have more say about hospitals than before. The director of the surgical department at London's world-famed Guy's Hospital said the board used to be composed mostly of business men, each chosen "because of the size of his purse," but now included members of the hospital staff. Professional representation is greater in the Local Executive Councils, which administer the services rendered by dentists, family doctors, and pharmacists. Even here, however, there are as many lay members as representatives of the three professions.

The administrative system allows plenty of scope for the continuance of Britain's splendid traditions of voluntary public service. It is estimated that more than 10,000 people are working without pay to administer the health schemes. Trade unions and local Labor parties have felt that they are not adequately represented, but that is largely their own fault; they were slow to act and put forward too few qualified candidates. They will certainly be more alert this year, when one-third of the original members of the Regional Boards retire.

The rush for eyeglasses and dental service took the authorities by surprise. The demand for glasses is twice as great as before the war, and production cannot keep pace. Unlike the doctors, the dentists are paid on a piecework basis, and by working for long hours at high speed a few have been earning gross incomes at the rate of $50,000 a year. One deplorable result has been that dentists are leaving salaried posts in the public clinics, where a priority service was to be provided for children and expectant mothers. The government is reexamining the whole question of dental compensation, and has already made two drastic cuts. Of course the rush for the two services is the inevitable result of a long period of neglect. What the demand will be when the backlog has vanished and Britishers have a more American look, complete with glasses and false teeth, remains to be seen.

There have been some waste and some deliberate fraud in the provision of medicines and medical appliances, but the total sums involved are neglible in comparison to the size of the service. In the beginning a minority of doctors expressed their cynicism about the service by reckless and extravagant prescriptions, but professional public opinion and the realization that waste in this field may mean cuts in more essential matters are enforcing an improvement. Incidentally, the provision of wigs, contrary to American comment, has not been extravagant. They are prescribed only by specialists, usually for disfiguring scalp diseases and injuries, and have been running at the rate of only 1,000 a month in a population of 50,000,000.

THE doctors, of course, have their grievances. They have to fill out such a great number of forms and reports that a government committee is at work to reduce the requirements. Doctors in rural districts have been unable to handle enough patients to maintain their income, and the Ministry has had to come to their rescue with a generous travel allowance. In urban areas many doctors are overworked, although the stories of this are exaggerated; recently a photographer from one of the mass-circulation American magazines made a futile search for queues before London doctors' offices.

The biggest single disappointment, keenly felt by many doctors who were enthusiastic campaigners for the service, has been the fact that none of the health centers which were to be a principal feature of the scheme have as yet materialized. In such centers six or eight doctors were expected to work together as a team, pooling their knowledge and experience and sharing a common staff and facilities, with a consequent saving in overhead costs. Britain's reconstruction problems compelled the Minister of Health to move slowly in this field. Nevertheless, the Minister has now approved one ambitious project in London, and others are nearing approval.

The opinion of most careful students of the service is that its chief long-term problem will be that of costs.

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This problem does not arise from abuse of the service or from its administrative costs, now running at a mere 2.3 per cent. It arises rather from two inescapable facts. First, the average age of Britain's population is steadily rising, and old people need more medical care than young. Second, the costs of medical care itself are increasing rapidly, as medical science develops more elaborate and expensive methods of treatment.

THE service has already, in its first year, cost much more than was planned, and Sir Stafford Cripps went out of his way in his recent budget speech to call a halt. The Minister of Health has returned the estimates submitted by the hospitals with the request that they be cut in the amount of almost $40,000,000. This has led to panic talk about the number of hospital beds being reduced, but there is no evidence whatever for this; the limiting factor remains the supply of nurses. The cuts will come mainly in new equipment, which though desirable is at present beyond the means of the community. They are a sharp reminder to the medical profession that preventive measures must increasingly have their attention. The health centers, as they come into operation, should do much work of this sort. The extension of medical services into the factories, foreshadowed in the Labor Party's proposed election platform, will be a further step in prevention.

It is possible, of course, to exaggerate the cost of the Health Service. At present it is roughly equal to the income of the government from the tax on beer, and is little more than a third of its income from tobacco taxes. By paying 24 cents for a pint of beer and 70 cents for a package of standard-brand cigarettes Britain's drinkers and smokers just about cover the cost of education, health, housing, and the subsidies which cut the prices of essential foods. In post-war Britain the vices are expensive and virtuous living is cheap.

Nevertheless, the supply of health services may always be less than the real demand. Before last July they were largely rationed by price; now their distribution becomes a matter of community decision. This is a problem Britain has already successfully faced in the case of food. Its nutrition policy has emphasized fair shares for all, and special attention to the needs of children and expectant mothers. The astonishing result is that a diet which on the average is lower both in quantity and quality than before the war pays a bigger dividend in national well-being. Even before the Health Service took full effect, the death rate had reached the lowest level ever recorded, and the rate of still-births, infant mortality, and deaths of mothers in childbirth had done the same. Since 1942 the Ministry of Health has made annual surveys of the nutritional state of school children, and in this difficult period the percentage of good nutrition has risen from 83.5 to 95.

The nutrition policy, progressive doctors say, has provided the essential basis for the success of the Health Service. If, as the *Times* has suggested, the government may one day have to consider "what proportion of its resources the nation can most profitably set aside for medical care," it should not be beyond British genius to administer a limited health budget, as it has adminstered the limited food budget, to yield maximum returns in the form of community well-being.

Germany's Peace Scare

BY CAROLUS

Frankfurt, June 25

THE Western democracies may have been disappointed with the results of the Paris conference, but the Germans breathed easier when it was over. "It could have been worse," they said. More than anything else they had feared an agreement between East and West, for they were convinced it could only be achieved at their expense. If the Allies of the Second World War are no longer the arrogant conquerors of 1945, neither are the Germans the beaten people that surrendered unconditionally. The dissolution of the world coalition against them and eighteen months of cold war have brought them greater benefits than they could have obtained from the most favorable peace treaty. Why should there not be rejoicing in Troy's shattered halls when the victors, far from reaching a settlement, can barely preserve the status quo of the armistice?

Anyone who before and during the Paris conference read the newspapers of the western zones and the speeches of the West German political leaders, and noted their supercilious skepticism about the probable outcome of the Foreign Ministers' deliberations, can imagine the satisfaction that those same papers and politicians now exude. Though Germans are deeply depressed by the division of their country, the fact that Paris confirmed the existence of a big West German state and a smaller East German state seems to make no

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of a German liberal leader who went into exile when Hitler came to power but is now again active in politics in the West German state.

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particular difference. They comfort themselves with the thought that the end is not yet. "Let the peace treaty wait; in another eighteen months of cold war many things can happen to our advantage."

FOREIGNERS have always regarded the Germans as a romantic people, swayed by philosophical enthusiasms, and have explained their virtues and defects by this quality. Actually they are nothing of the sort. True, when fortune is with them they dream "*vom deutschen Wesen, an dem die Welt Genesen soll*"—in other words, of their mission to conquer the world. But in misfortune the Germans see things as they are, think and act realistically. When Vishinsky and Acheson in the early days of the Paris conference talked about a unified Germany, they were thinking of the Germany between the Rhine and the Oder-Neisse. The Germans, however, especially the heads of the great political parties, were not only thinking but solemnly discussing a Germany that extended to the Memel, to Breslau and Königsberg. For Dr. Schumacher and Dr. Adenauer alike the Oder-Neisse line is "only provisional." In Munich and Frankfurt, in Cologne and Hamburg, people are convinced that the eastern provinces "now under Polish control" will be given back when Germany gets a peace treaty. The German unity which is discussed in the official fastnesses of Moscow and Washington is not at all what the Germans call unity.

Germans sigh for the return of these lost provinces in the east not only for nationalist, territorial, or economic reasons. Nine million German refugees from the east live in the West German state today; every fifth person is an East German immigrant. And their psychological and political influence corresponds to their numbers. These nine million immigrants are a hateful burden to the people of the eleven *Länder*; the native inhabitants are as anxious to get rid of them as the refugees are to go back where they came from. "We will never resign ourselves to the loss of our homeland," shouted Wenzel Jaksch, Social Democratic leader of the two and a half million Sudetendeutsche who were driven out of Czechoslovakia. And twenty thousand of his countrymen assembled in a public square in Frankfurt responded with thunderous applause. The trumps held by Soviet Russia in the struggle over Germany are fairly apparent, as are those Moscow can play if it is necessary to use pressure on a recalcitrant Poland or Czechoslovakia. The price that one side or the other must pay the Germans for their help if the cold war continues, or should finally evolve into open conflict, can also be easily imagined.

In Paris the Western powers demanded free access to Berlin, a passageway under their control. Russia refused. So Washington's compromise over the raising of the Berlin blockade was reaffirmed. Yet on the opening day of the conference Berlin was again blockaded—and by Germans. Fifteen thousand German railroad workers living in the western zone of Berlin stopped work because their employer, the Russian transport administration, was willing to pay only 60 per cent of their wages in western marks. The demands of the workers were undoubtedly reasonable and the strike justified. But as a result rail deliveries from the West to Berlin were completely paralyzed. Russian soldiers and employees were driven out of the stations and yards. There was fighting. Two strikers were killed and several wounded. The Western military commander openly took the side of the railroad workers. Many Germans, however, saw something peculiar in this strike, and on June 18, the *Badische Zeitung*, a bourgeois paper with a large circulation in the French zone, said:

> The demands of the railroad workers in West Berlin were originally motivated by purely economic considerations. And the men cannot be condemned for choosing a moment which seemed to them favorable [the opening of the Paris conference]. Unfortunately, the circumstances turned the strike into a political matter. The tangled situation in Berlin was made worse, and the effect was to continue the blockade practically as before. The West supported the strikers with encouraging words and even with Care packages.

From the beginning it was clear to every thinking person that the strike could have been avoided. In comparison with the tremendous cost of the air lift both to the Western Allies and to the Germans, the wage demands of 15,000 workers, which the Berlin City Council was prepared to grant, were a mere drop in the bucket. Were the German workers to be furnished proof that Soviet Russia could turn machine-guns against strikers? Did the Germans want to prevent a settlement between East and West in Paris?

THE situation in Germany was further complicated while the Foreign Ministers were meeting by an event that aroused the anger and indignation of the whole western zone. This was the dismantling of the great German synthetic-oil factories in the British zone. Hundreds of thousands of German workers demonstrated against the order. Catholic bishops and Protestant churches in the Rhineland towns and villages held prayer services begging that it be rescinded. The British military governor used tanks and machine-guns to carry out the dismantling against the workers' violent attempts to prevent it. However, as yet there has not been a single strike in this area, the greatest industrial region in Europe.

That the British Labor government, four years after the end of the war, with the motive of destroying competition—as was generally believed and said—should designate the production of synthetic oil a war potential

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and not the rapidly growing German steel industry, and that the same Labor government should use tanks to accomplish the forcible destruction of shops where tens of thousands of workers earned their livelihood—this aroused one paper, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of Mainz, to declare:

> It is going to stiffen the people's spirit; and it shows that the moral authority of the victorious powers is no longer sufficient to secure the carrying out of their orders. Four years ago a simple notice in the Rathaus could make the workers put their machines out of commission, however much they hated to do so.

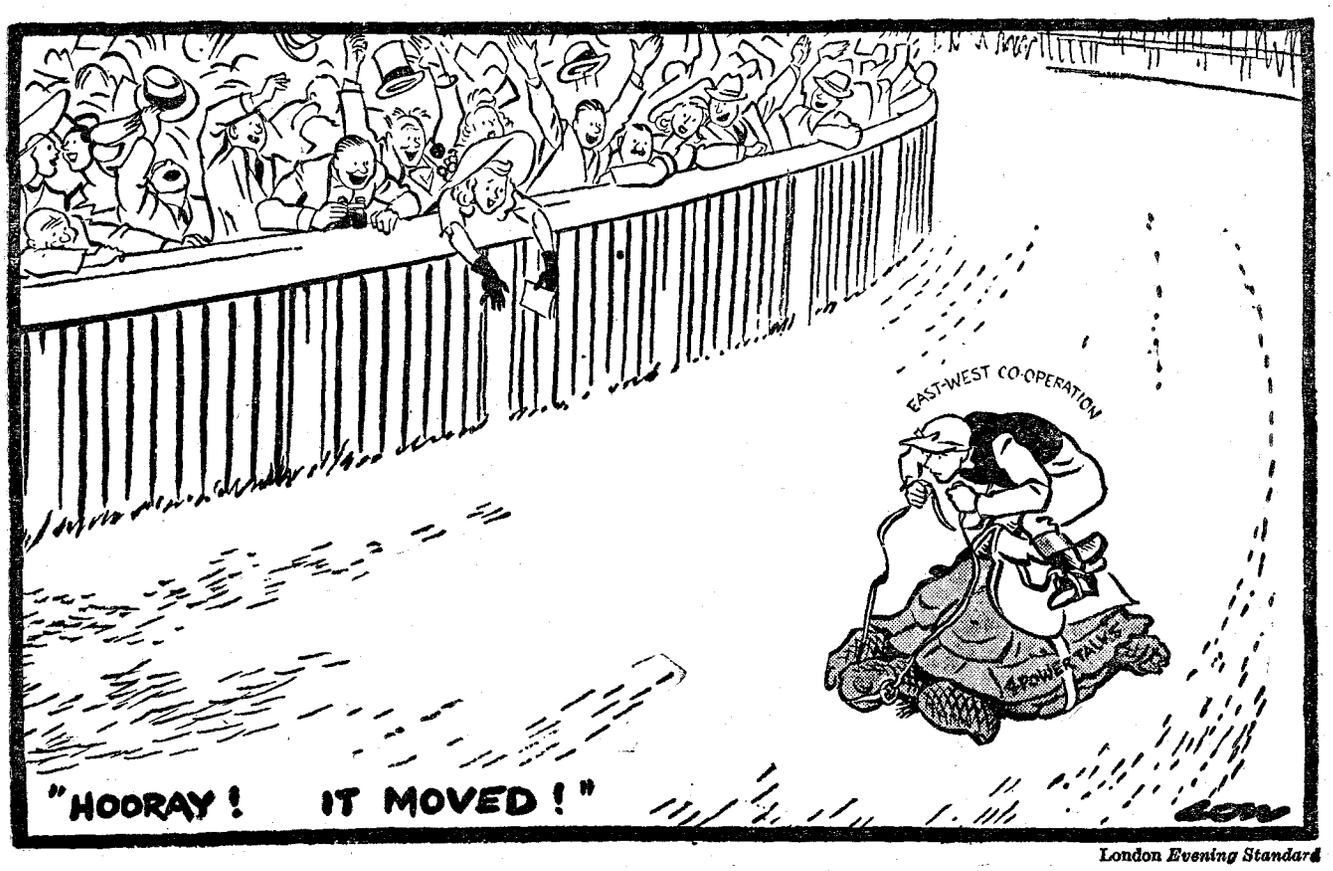
On another occasion the same paper said, "Many people without knowing it are preparing the ground for bolshevism in the Western world."

Such was the German accompanying music to the performance staged by the Big Four in Paris.

THE promise of a restoration of trade relations between the two parts of the country was gratefully received by German workers and tradesmen, for business is stagnant and the number of unemployed has reached the record figure of 1,240,000, almost 12 per cent of the labor force. Western Germany needs the anticipated exchange of goods at least as much as the eastern zone does.

While many of the Germans' complaints are justified, one searches through their press and the speeches of their politicians in vain for any positive, constructive suggestions. They worry about another war, they fear the peace, and at the same time they hope for some catastrophe that will deliver them from their difficulties. Meanwhile the renazification of the country goes on, making such progress that General Van Wagoner, the military governor of Bavaria, felt compelled to write a letter rebuking the Bavarian Minister-President, Dr. Ehard. According to the Paris *Monde* of June 25, he wrote: "I can no longer tolerate the continual disregard of the rights of loyal and politically uncompromised officials and employees, and I must ask you to respect the preceding order of the military government on this subject." In both provincial and local administrations democratic and anti-Nazi officials are continually being thrown out and former Nazis taken in.

Next fall the four Foreign Ministers will resume their discussion of the German question. When the Germans smile skeptically at the prospect, people in the West are surprised. Apparently they have forgotten—what is always being proved anew—that elections, conferences, and congresses are only the end product of developments that have been going on through a period finally closed. Before Paris there were eighteen months of cold war. That they did not end in a trial of strength, in catastrophe, but in a peaceful conference is the true importance of the Paris meeting. A change for the better took place, whatever the various forces on this side and that which brought it about. And if conditions within Germany and the state of mind of the Germans are in large part the result of the cold war, they will certainly be affected in the opposite way by a settlement beween East and West.



London *Evening Standard*

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The Guy Who Gets Things Done

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, June 29

ALTHOUGH many prominent Californians are listed in the index of John Gunther's "Inside U. S. A.," the name of Arthur H. Samish, the state's most important political figure, does not appear. The undisputed boss of the California legislature for the last two decades, Artie has enjoyed a degree of anonymity which is no less amazing than the power he wields. In a talkative mood he once said, "I am the governor of the legislature; to hell with the governor of California." Yet probably 99 per cent of California's 6,000,000 registered voters never heard of him.

Artie started his political career as a $170-a-month clerk in the tax collector's office in San Francisco, an appointment which he owed to Eddie Bryant, then the city's tax collector. Some years later, around 1918, Artie got a job as minute clerk in the legislature, and it was in this capacity that he acquired his astonishing mastery of the mechanics of legislation.

In 1922 the Old Guard of the Republican Party in California recaptured control of the party from the Hiram Johnson progressives and elected Friend W. Richardson governor. Four years later the progressive Republicans got behind the candidacy of C. C. Young, a protégé of Johnson's. It happened that A. P. Giannini of the Bank of America, then the Bank of Italy, was at odds with Richardson over the issue of branch banking. With Giannini providing the funds, an alliance was formed between Johnson progressives and other disaffected Republicans which brought victory to Young. One of the skilled technicians who put this curious alliance together was Arthur H. Samish, and his success in this first venture in state politics encouraged him to become a "public-relations counselor," that is, a professional politician. Four years later Samish had emerged as king of the lobbyists.

The thirties, of course, were an ideal period for the professional lobbyist. Liquor was coming back and with it gambling and horse racing. Business was making a drive for special legislation to enable it to fix prices and eliminate "unfair" trade practices and competition in the manner of the NIRA codes. In 1931, 339 lobbyists were registered at Sacramento—three for every member of the legislature. In this year Artie Samish scored his first major triumph, obtaining passage of an amendment to the Public Utilities Act, still known as the "famous section 50¼," which gave marked competitive advantages to the Pacific Greyhound bus lines, owned by the Southern Pacific. In the three years that followed, Samish received $61,237.48 from the Motor Carriers' Association, an organization which he had brought into being to protect the interests of the railroads against the competition of "wild-cat" truckers.

Then in the wake of repeal Artie lobbied through the Alcoholic Beverage Control Act, which might be described as the hand-written instrument by which he controls the liquor industry of the state. Artie is interested in everything connected with the liquor industry—bottles, corks, labels, and brand names no less than the primary product. From 1935 to 1938 his annual fee from the California State Brewers' Institute was $30,000. Through one of his lieutenants he also represented the somewhat conflicting interests of the California Liquor Industries' Association (for a fee of $12,500), the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Northern California ($12,000), and the Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association of Southern California ($24,500). He still represents these organizations, and it is a reasonable assumption that the fees have not declined. For many years now the brewers have levied an assessment of 5 cents a barrel on all beer sold in California. This assessment goes into a special fund which is placed at Artie's disposal to spend as he sees fit, without formal records or a detailed accounting. From 1935 to 1938 this fund, earmarked for general political activity, totaled $97,619.47. The levy is still maintained.

There was also the matter of special legislation for the Los Angeles Turf Club, which operates the Santa Anita race track—from 1935 to 1938 Artie collected $54,999.97 from Santa Anita. For some years both Santa Anita and the Hollywood Turf Club gave Artie a handsome annual retainer, said to be $25,000 a year from each, but within the last year he has had a violent quarrel with the Santa Anita management. As might be expected, Santa Anita is now involved in many difficulties. Among Mr. Samish's other clients is the National Orange Show at San Bernardino, which in effect is a public corporation supported by state funds. Some years ago the National Orange Show retained Mr. Samish and the state senator from San Bernardino County to obtain increased financial support. In this instance, therefore, Mr. Samish was paid a fee from public funds to assist in procuring additional public

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CAREY McWILLIAMS, a staff contributor, has long been a close observer of the California political scene. He is the author of numerous books, of which the latest is "North from Mexico."

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funds. All in all, in the period 1935-38, Artie collected $496,138.62 for his lobbying activities, not including the special assessment of $97,619.47 from the brewers. (These figures are from the Philbrick Report, an official state document.)

THE general pattern of Artie's operations is clear. When asked to represent a special-interest group, his first step is to organize a trade association. The trade association, usually the alter ego of Arthur H. Samish, then retains Arthur H. Samish as its "public-relations counselor." "There is no difference," Artie once said, "between Arthur Samish and the Motor Carriers' Association. I *am* the Motor Carriers' Association." Once he has a contract, Artie will obtain whatever legislation the association wants or repeal or amend obnoxious legislation. At this point the trade association usually decides that the services of Mr. Samish have become indispensable. For example, the American Potash and Chemical Company retained Artie in 1935 to lobby against a proposed severance tax. Two years later the company discovered that mysterious news items and full-page ads advocating a severance tax in the name of the "Gold Miners' Association" were appearing in the press. "Mr. Samish," as the Philbrick Report cryptically comments, "forwarded these items to the American Potash and Chemical Company." That year his retainer was increased from $6,500 to $14,000.

Arthur H. Samish

Artie, it should be noted, is a new-style political boss. Usually political machines are able to control the legislature by controlling the party. But in California both major parties have an extremely weak organization, and there are no party machines. What Artie has done, therefore, is to convert the interest group into a political machine functioning independently of either party. From the lobbyist's point of view this represents a distinct improvement. A party machine can be challenged at the polls, but as long as Artie controls the interest groups, his power cannot be questioned. Theoretically the interest groups could dispense with his services, but it is easier, and probably cheaper, to deal with one master lobbyist than with a collection of party chiefs.

Each industry group and each of its members becomes a link in the political power of Arthur H. Samish. For example, there are 50,000 retail liquor outlets in California. The owners of these outlets are all political legmen for Artie; they are the "ward bosses" of his new streamlined machine. In short, Artie uses the trade association as Pendergast once used a patronage machine. Patronage machines have a tendency to get out of hand—there are always minor rebellions, and the careerism of lieutenants can become bothersome—but Artie has no troubles of this sort. Most of the trade associations that he represents publish bulletins or journals, and Artie sees to it that the trade knows just as much as he thinks it should and no more about the industry's politics.

SINCE 1931 Artie has controlled a large bloc of votes in the legislature. This is tantamount to control of the legislature, since the bloc usually elects the Speaker, who appoints the committees. Control of two or three key committees carries with it the power to table most legislation or to send it out with a "do-pass" recommendation. Samish employs any number of lawyer-legislators as "counsel" for the various trade associations that he represents. The associations also frequently need some type of insurance and can give this business to legislators in the insurance business. But that is merely one way in which Artie can exert pressure on legislators. In the absence of party machines and given California's cross-filing system, he can nominate and elect candidates in many districts by the expenditure of nominal sums. He is very reluctant to make campaign contributions, for he knows the old California political pastime of running campaigns for a profit; he spends the money himself and thereby gets full value. His power cannot be exposed, since the most powerful special-interest groups in the state are among his clients. For instance, Artie keeps up-to-the-minute files on the allocation of advertising space by his clients. If a newspaper becomes "unfriendly," the advertising can be promptly removed. Though Samish has been the undisputed boss of the California legislature for two decades, he has never been the subject of a newspaper exposé.

One of the keys to this man's influence is his ability to sell the police power of the state. California has been very active in regulating general business by statute. In 1907 it adopted an anti-trust act. Two years later the act was amended to provide that agreements and combinations are not illegal if their purpose is to insure a "reasonable" profit. The state Supreme Court then interpreted this provision to mean that manufacturers might set a price for commodities and require retailers to keep to it. Finally, in 1933, the legislature adopted the Fair Trade Act, which put previous court rulings into the law and permitted firms suffering from price cutting to sue those which sold goods below the fixed price.

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This whole pattern of legislation developed earlier and has been carried farther in California than in any other state, the marked instability of the state's economy having created a demand for all types of "stabilization" measures. Let a retailer cut the price of a bottle of bourbon by so much as a nickel, and his establishment will promptly be visited by state inspectors. Artie, it will be noted, does not have to hold the retailers in line; the state does the policing.

BUT the real secret of Samish's astonishing political power is to be found in the economic diversity of California. Only New York can rival California in that respect. Where there are many interests to be served, there is always competition for favors. On the other hand, where a single interest is dominant, as, say, "copper" in Montana, the possibilities of political merchandising are narrowly limited. Agriculture in California is not "wheat" or "corn" or "cotton"; it is 214 different crops. "Banking" is, or was, Giannini versus the other bankers. "Medicine" does not mean merely "doctors and dentists"; it means osteopaths, chiropractors, naturopaths, Chinese herb doctors, and what not. Hence the fantastic "angling" which makes Sacramento a market where grapes and sardines, wines and race tracks, bid for power and preference. Other lobbyists do not waste time on the legislators: they deal directly with Artie.

In California less than 6 per cent of the voters elect a majority of the state's forty senators. Los Angeles County with a population of 3,584,000 has one state senator, as does the El Dorado-Alpine-Amador senatorial district with 24,920 residents. This undemocratic system of representation is another factor in Artie's unchallenged rule. It is, as Dr. Dean McHenry has pointed out, "dangerously suggestive of Mussolini's notions of the corporate state." California's legislature really is a corporate state in which commodities, not people, are represented. Artie is the middleman between the business interests and the legislators; as he himself puts it, "I'm just a guy who gets things done." The power is really not in Artie; it is in a situation which he has learned to manipulate.

In his parvenu days Artie sported a belt with an enormous buckle on which the word ARTIE was spelled out in diamonds. Imagine a similar belt drawn tightly around the middle of California and you have an accurate symbolic representation of the power of Arthur H. Samish, California's nearly anonymous political boss.

America, Good and Bad

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

III. Fears and Opportunities

London

DESPITE the victory of President Truman last year, American liberal influence has been atomized in the years since 1945. The members of Americans for Democratic Action (A. D. A.) bring, no doubt, great comfort to one another; and it is valuable for them to keep together even if they exercise but little influence on public opinion. The journals of the left seem to die of pernicious anaemia, like the New York *Star,* or to survive only by carrying on a perpetual struggle which leaves them, if full of courage, hardly less full of weariness. It is, indeed, astonishing that a nation of nearly 150,000,000 people, which reelected Franklin Roosevelt four times and chose Mr. Truman in defiance of all the prophets, which has seen, moreover, the greatest strides in labor organization since the rise of large-scale industry, should be unable to give a liberal weekly a steady circulation of 100,000 copies, and fail to produce a daily paper of the standing and the doctrinal leftness of, let us say, the Manchester *Guardian.*

There are strangely few in Washington today who maintain the temper of ardent experimentalism which made the city seem, right up to the war, the scene of an exciting adventure of immense proportions. Many former New Dealers have lost their old enthusiasm and now devote the knowledge and influence they gained then to the service of the very interests which, little more than a decade ago, they were eager to limit or destroy. Many more still have become those typical "tired radicals" who look back with a wry, ironic humor at their youthful utopianism. Some of them have become cynical reactionaries eager to atone for the years they spent in the service of the New Deal. Some of them have left, intelligibly enough, in wrath and disgust at the passion with which they are pursued by the agents of the FBI; after all, it has now become a suspicious thing to have subscribed to Spanish Republican relief in 1938, and it is possible to be marked down as dangerous if your wife buys her spring costume from a shop where the salesgirl has a Communist cousin. The possibilities of "guilt by association" are now so vast that I sometimes wonder if the President feels quite secure. When he considered the possibility of the Vinson mission to Rus-

The last two articles in Professor Laski's series will deal with academic freedom in American universities. They will appear in early issues.

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sia, I am sure that J. Edgar Hoover regarded him as guilty of what the pre-war Japanese police called "harboring dangerous thoughts."

THIS atomization of the liberal movement is doubly unfortunate because it deprives those who think with them in Congress of badly needed integrated support. It is, after all, years since the Dies committee started on its fantastic witch-hunt, and its successors have only deepened its original folly. As one hears of what the witch-hunters, big and small, are doing, one is tempted to suggest that an investigation of the FBI is overdue, and that the services of counsel at least as skilled as Judge Pecora would be needed to reveal to the ordinary folk of America the things being done in their name. If I can guess at the FBI's practices by my own brief experience of one analogous bureau in the Department of Justice, I should infer that its folly is equaled only by its ignorance, and that the habits of its members prove that the ability to read the printed word is very far from being an index to intelligence. I happened to be fortunate in possessing old friends who knew their way about the labyrinth of Washington bureaucracy. But, quite frankly, I do not like to think of the difficulties a visitor might encounter who was a stranger in Washington and unacquainted with the technique by which the bloodhounds are called off the scent.

It is no doubt true that both the people and the Congress of the United States accept this far-flung witch-hunt partly because there has been some real espionage and partly because the methods of Russian propaganda have reached a level of folly which only a romance of E. Phillips Oppenheim could rival. I venture, indeed, to believe that Generalissimo Stalin could render few greater services to peace and common sense than by ending the passion for conspiracy-mongering which seems to oppress not only his officials in Russia itself but those who represent his regime all over the world. They wrap themselves in a cloak of unfriendliness and mystery. They are always looking for hidden meanings and sinister maneuvers. They suspect that an invitation to a cup of coffee is the prelude to a plot, and that the most harmless of letters contains a message in invisible ink.

Russians generally are lovable and friendly people, open-hearted and open-handed, and they are never at their best when they are ordered to act rather like the third murderer in "Macbeth." If every Russian abroad goes about like a conspirator, his brow knitted, his face dark and surly, he is bound to make even those most eager to be his friends helpless, and to give his enemies exactly the proof they want that he must have something to hide. I know no better way of giving to Soviet Russia the full freedom of the international community, not least the power to reduce American witch-hunting to the proportions of sanity, than to instruct its people, both at home and abroad, to act like human beings and give full reign to the ebullient good humor they now rarely reach until the fifteenth toast at an official banquet in Moscow. And if they could only treat visiting American and other diplomats and journalists so that they would not return home with the conviction that they had just been released from prison, they would go a long way toward recovering that tolerance which is the first condition of a sane world. Now and again, at least, the Politbureau might spend an odd half-hour in remembering that their friends in the United States are the first victims of the massive suspicions they so ponderously and often so needlessly weave like the baseless fabric of an ugly dream.

THERE is one other matter on which I would make bold to utter a word. Historically, no great power has been more anti-militarist than the United States; that is perhaps one of the noblest elements in its national tradition. But it is possible that at no time has there been such danger as there is today that the ideology of militarism would be accepted. Partly, no doubt, the immensity of America's war effort and the scale of its triumphs have given it a new sense of pride in this aspect of its influence. Partly, also, the public's recognition of profound dangers narrowly escaped has given the high-ranking officers of the defense services a new status. Something, too, has emerged from the presence abroad, for the first time, of considerable American armies of occupation, and the avowal by both the Atlantic states and countries like Australia and New Zealand that they depend primarily upon American power to defend them against aggression. But even when allowance is made for these and similar factors, the danger begins to emerge that the Pentagon may become an independent power within the state, leading rather than following civilian public opinion. Atomic energy was liberated by a narrow margin from permanent military control. Today its freedom is seriously menaced by irresponsible inquisitors. The inner defense committee over which Admiral Leahy presided until the other day was able to approach the Commander-in-Chief directly without discussing its proposals with the Secretary of War or the Navy or the Air.

In all the occupied territories it has been an extraordinarily difficult matter for the State Department to make it plain to men like General MacArthur and General Clay and General Hodges that they are the instruments, not the masters, of Presidential policy. Everyone can understand the respect and devotion for General Marshall which led President Truman to make him Secretary of State, but it is no secret that this great soldier was always inclined to run the department as if it were a branch of the General Staff he had headed so superbly. He had been too long accustomed to the soldier's ways to handle a civilian department in the full realization that it was

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constructed for negotiation by diplomacy and not for settlement by conflict. Of all the great figures, naval and military, on the American side in the war, only General Eisenhower has so far been able, with genuine ease, to speak the language of peace like a civilian. General Chennault's passion for leading the United States headlong into the Chinese civil war, in behalf, moreover, of a cause whose corruption stinks to heaven, is only too typical of the way in which the American military mind approaches the problems of peace. It is not the least important task of the President and Congress to see to it that the mentality of the Pentagon remains strictly subordinate to civilian purposes. And that is not made less essential by the fact that modern war has never devastated American territory, and that there is in the American tradition a certain responsiveness to the pomp and glory of the military parade.

It was in the midst of the Civil War that Emerson called upon America to take what he called "an affirmative step in the interests of human civility." "It is very certain," he wrote, "that the statesman who shall break through the cobwebs of doubt, fear, and petty cavil that lie in the way will be greeted by the unanimous thanks of mankind. Men reconcile themselves very fast to a bold and good measure when once it is taken, though they condemned it in advance." No one who revisits America today can doubt that this is the supreme service its leaders and its people can render a world racked by doubt and insecurity. America alone has the power to take that "affirmative step." America alone can seek openly for peace without the risk that its prestige will be called into question. Much that is ugly in its life would be swept aside by the very fact that it moved with swift resolution to the urgent work of liberating our civilization from the fears that oppress it. There might be fear in Paris, doubt in Moscow, petty cavil in London. These would not matter if the decision was taken with boldness and with speed. A nation can occupy no higher place than one where its policies are greeted, as such an American initiative would be greeted, "by the unanimous thanks of mankind." The moment is a perilous one; that only makes the opportunity more splendid.

Manchurian Mystery

BY ANDREW ROTH

II. Where China Meets Russia

Peiping-Shanghai-Hongkong

MANCHURIA is the place where the Russian and Chinese revolutions come together. If the bond between them is made secure, the world's political balance will clearly be tipped toward communism. If, however, the Chinese and Russian Communists take different paths, the resulting controversy will make Tito's heresy seem small potatoes indeed.

The test is certain to come in Manchuria because there China's and Russia's national interests clearly overlap. China cannot hope to industrialize itself within the next generation without the full use of Manchuria. At the same time the Soviets have an unmistakable economic and strategic stake in the region.

During the thirteen years that they controlled Manchuria the Japanese developed it as a base for their powerful Kwantung Army, with the object not only of conquering China but also of attacking to the north. They built strategic roads and railroads and several times in the late thirties made probing attacks across the Soviet border. Russia was forced to keep over five hundred thousand men constantly mobilized in a region which then had a population of about ten million. Not until 1941 did the Japanese decide that they would have richer and easier pickings in Southeast Asia. Another reason for Soviet interest in Manchuria is found in the Russian-built trans-Manchurian railway, which cuts five hundred miles off the distance between Vladivostok and European Russia. Soviet strategists and shipping men, moreover, have retained the czarist dream of an ice-free port on the Pacific such as Dairen or Port Arthur.

Under the Sino-Soviet agreement which followed the Yalta conference, Port Arthur was made a joint Chinese-Russian naval base for thirty years, with predominant Soviet control in peace and complete Soviet control in time of war with Japan. Dairen was made a free port for Russian imports and was to be controlled by the Soviets in time of war with Japan. In signing this treaty the Russians showed their lack of confidence in the Chinese Communists, who had already denounced Chiang Kai-shek and were planning to seize power wherever they could.

Subsequently Russia's demands went beyond the guaranties of the Sino-Soviet treaty. In January, 1946, it informed the Chinese government that it regarded as war booty all Japanese enterprises in Manchuria which had rendered services to the Japanese army. Accordingly it removed industrial equipment which, as the Pauley mission estimated later, damaged Manchurian industry

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to the extent of $858,000,000. Russia has also refused to withdraw its troops from Dairen or to permit joint operation of the Port Arthur naval base, giving the technical excuse that a state of war with Japan still exists since the Japanese peace treaty has not been signed.

The real reason behind the Russians' truculence in Manchuria is, of course, fear of the United States. They think that the great American air lift of Kuomintang troops to Manchuria in 1945-46 was an attempt by the United States to take over, through its Kuomintang satellite, the Japanese-built springboard for an attack on Siberia.

The Soviets' post-war policy in Manchuria has been very complex. Though naturally friendly to the Chinese Communists, they were at first skeptical of their victory and therefore felt compelled to take their own measures to assure Soviet security. At the same time they were determined to observe the Sino-Soviet treaty to the letter and to be scrupulously correct in regard to the civil war. A number of strange developments resulted. The Russians apparently allowed Communist troops to pass through their lines in Manchuria only if unarmed. These Chinese Communist troops then managed to "find" Japanese arms dumps, allegedly with Russian help, though there is no direct evidence of collusion. The Soviets turned over the civil administration of various cities to the Kuomintang government, as they were bound to do by treaty, but wherever they could they denied entrance to Kuomintang troops. In several cities in Communist-held territory the Kuomintang administrations could exist only because they had the protection of Russian troops.

Dairen and Port Arthur have remained exclusive Soviet preserves so far as outside trade is concerned. The Chinese Communists have had to use the inferior ports of Antung and Yingkow. In all the areas taken by the Communists the Soviet consulates have shut up shop, on the theory that Moscow recognizes only the Kuomintang government.

ON THE surface Soviet-Chinese relations in Manchuria are very chummy. The *Northeast Daily,* the leading Manchurian Communist paper, relies almost completely on Tass dispatches for its foreign news. The Manchurian Communists, like those of the rest of China, support the U. S. S. R. whole-heartedly and vehemently oppose the Anglo-American position on all international issues. But underneath there is some friction. A section of the populace is reported to be still indignant about the rape and watch-stealing of the first Soviet troops to enter. The present Soviet garrisons in Dairen and Port Arthur are strictly disciplined, but their very presence is irritating to nationalistic Chinese. The Soviet removals of machinery are privately resented. The Communists never refer to this matter in their periodicals or newspapers; but if asked, they explain it by saying: "If our neighbor took the trouble to drive away the bandits who had seized our home and in doing so happened to carry away a rice bowl or a pair of chopsticks, what should be our reaction?" This hardly satisfies those who hoped that Manchuria's industry would be the keystone of a modern China.

Rather interesting are the meager reports of the coolness shown to their Soviet comrades by many rank-and-file Chinese Communists. These young Chinese are intensely nationalistic, anti-foreign, and puritanical. They have resented the arrogance of the Soviet bureaucrats and military they have encountered in Dairen and Port Arthur and been shocked by their exaggerated grade-consciousness, which contrasts so sharply with their own egalitarianism. Chinese Communists wear no insignia, and almost all of them live on the same ascetic level.

It is not possible to write anything conclusive about the persistent but unconfirmed reports of an alleged Soviet attempt to set up Manchuria as a satellite like North Korea or Outer Mongolia. In most of the stories about this the chief figure has been Li Li-san, who returned in 1946 after ten years in Moscow and is said to be close to the Soviet secret police. *Time,* in a recent story, quoted directly from a speech he made at a meeting of the "Asiatic Cominform" allegedly held in Harbin, in which he warned against any Chinese Titoism—presumably by Mao Tse-tung. There are several curious things about this *Time* story. First, *Time* apparently had "exclusive" access to Li Li-san's speech. Second, the existence of an Asiatic Cominform is based solely on dubious reports out of Hongkong, and even these unconfirmed reports placed its meetings in November, 1947, a full half-year before the issue of Titoism broke upon the international scene. If a struggle over Manchuria between pro-Soviet Mao Tse-tung and ultra pro-Soviet Li Li-san ever existed except in the wishful thinking of various observers, Li Li-san has apparently lost out, for as I said in my earlier article he has a distinctly second-rung job now in Peiping as a vice-chairman of the Labor Federation.

Until the Chinese Communist government is formally recognized, no predictions can be made about its future relations with Russia. Some experts think that the Soviet Union will attempt to cement the bonds of friendship by returning some of the removed equipment, particularly hydroelectric units which cannot be used anywhere but on the river for which they were designed. The American State Department, however, seems inclined to "make a Tito out of Mao" in the belief that the Chinese Communists can be weaned away from the Soviets by giving them help in industrialization. When recognition is accorded, I hope foreign reporters will get some freedom to operate in Manchuria. Then the haze of conflicting stories about the "Manchurian mystery" may be cleared up.

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Del Vayo—Dialogue in the French Left

CLOSELY connected with Europe's unwillingness to fight, which I discussed two weeks ago, is the lessened threat of war, now the fundamental fact in the international situation. That the danger has receded is admitted by the politicians and diplomats of all countries, although in the United States the necessity of prodding Congress into spending money on armaments has kept some officials from acknowledging the fact with complete frankness.

If one reviews events objectively, the danger appears to have been most acute in March, 1948, when the Communists' seizure of power in Prague created a demand for strong measures before Russia had the atomic bomb. From another angle, however, the Czechoslovak coup could be explained by the Russians' belief that war was imminent and that they must make themselves impregnable wherever they had a foothold, regardless of the moral and political effect of their actions. That was the interpretation given by one of President Benes's closest collaborators, Minister of Commerce Ripka, when I talked with him in Paris after his escape from Czechoslovakia.

Now that the "breaking out of peace" has been underlined by the recent conference of the four Foreign Ministers, the left forces in Europe are beginning to take up their indicated task of recovering the strength they have lost. In 1946 the left had an excellent chance of victory. It dominated the European political scene; the right was on the defensive, the extreme right in hiding. In 1949 the reverse is true. By making deals with the right on domestic as well as foreign issues, because of the break between East and West, the left has been weakened and divided. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the Atlantic Pact may have strengthened the international position of the Western democracies, but they have not helped the progressive forces in Europe—quite the contrary.

How can the situation be remedied? Younger members of the British Labor Party like Dennis Healey, Michael Foot, and Richard Crossman place their hopes in the growing power and political awareness of American labor. In an interesting survey printed in the *Gazette de Lausanne* under the title Does Europe Want to Exist? Jean Jacques Schreiber says that when he put this question to these future British Labor leaders they answered by asking about the United States: would America move to the right or the left? "I assure you," he continued, "that in England it is useless to speak of anything else. All the complexities of the cold war seem to be expressed in that simple and weighty question." Michael Foot sums up "the real policy of Great Britain" as an attempt to resist both Russian domination and the pressure of anarchic capitalism in the United States by forging an active alliance with American liberal and labor forces.

An important sector of progressive non-Communist opinion in Europe is less optimistic about the ability of American liberals and labor leaders to change the policy of the United States and believes reaction can be checked only by a regrouping of the European left. From every point of view American liberals should be interested in the response of Emmanuel Mounier, editor of the liberal Catholic monthly *Esprit,* to the tentative advances of the French Communists. The discussion has been carried on with an objectivity which would be inconceivable in the United States.

Maurice Thorez opened it with his speech at the last party congress at Montreuil. "Beyond the congress I want to address myself to men like Emmanuel Mounier and Claude Bourdet. They refuse to sink into anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, but sometimes they judge us wrongly, speak of our faults and mistakes without defining them. We know we are not infallible. But ask us what you will. We are ready to make many concessions, as we have already shown. Only one thing is impossible. Do not ask us to stop being Communists."

Mounier answered: "I find it infinitely sad and depressing that when a popular leader of the caliber of Thorez utters an appeal in that tone we cannot reply to him and those behind him with a simple and fraternal 'Here we are.'" He went on to analyze relations between the Communists and other left groups since the liberation. "The Communists," he said, "have an upper-case mentality. They speak of the Party with a capital *P* and no adjective. There is one Party and only one. Any other conception of socialism, any other alignment to attain it, is treason." "Nevertheless," he continued, "there exists a large group who want full social justice, economic democracy, and peace as much as the Communists. They want to obtain these results by other means, but that is not a reason for war or constant sniping or even for refusing to enter into a working alliance with the Communists. However, they must allow others to join this common effort as adults, at the head of important forces, meeting them freely and as equals."

Mounier recalled the World Peace Congress held in Paris last spring. If the Communists, he said, had not insisted on running it, hundreds of French intellectuals who were against the Atlantic Pact would have joined in. The Communists wanted him (Mounier), Bourdet, and a few others to participate to show how broad the movement was, but that would have committed them to unconditional support of the Soviet Union and to the most one-sided criticism of American policy. The Communists wanted them as an appendage, not as the exponents of a vast current in public opinion which refuses to engage in hysterical anti-communism but also refuses to subscribe to resolutions on whose wording and content they can exert no influence. That, he said, is not the road to an alliance.

At any rate there was talk of an alliance. For one who believes, as I do, that what is needed is a new popular front, shaped by the experience of the past five years, it was fascinating to find the matter discussed in so open and realistic a way.

[*Next week Mr. del Vayo begins his vacation. Later he will go to Europe and report on the political scene from Paris, Stockholm, Geneva, and other observation points.*]

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SO THEY SAID

BY TIM TAYLOR

THE PRESS is partisan, given to distorting the news, and therefore does not present an accurate picture of the world. A General Council of the Press should be set up to foster—not force—integrity and responsibility to the reading public. This was the conclusion of a royal commission which made a two-year study of the British press and recently published its report. Many points in the report are applicable to the American press:

"It is generally agreed that the British press is inferior to none in the world. . . . It is free from corruption. . . . There is nothing approaching monopoly in the press today. There is, however, some concentration of ownership. . . . The gap between the best of the quality papers and the general run of the popular press is too wide, and the number of papers of an intermediate type is too small. . . . The press does not do all it might to encourage its public to accept or demand material of higher quality. . . . Free enterprise is a prerequisite of a free press."

Rejecting extreme proposals—state control, subsidies for newly established papers, a public corporation to print papers under contract, the limitation of advertising revenue—the commission, according to the New York *Times*, made the following recommendations:

"Keep under review any developments likely to restrict the supply of information of public interest and importance. . . . Improve methods of recruitment, education, and training for the profession. . . . Build up a code in accordance with the 'highest professional standards' by censuring undesirable types of journalistic conduct and 'by all other possible means.' . . . Study the practicability of a comprehensive pension plan for journalists. . . . Promote technical and other research in, for example, the relationship of the press to its public and the changing trends of public opinion and taste. . . . Study developments that might tend toward greater concentration or monopoly."

A similar study of the American press would surely produce similar conclusions.

CLIP BOUTELL, moderator of the "Issue of the Day" page in the *Compass*, posed the question—"Is free creative writing possible in the United States today?"—and then turned the page over to Harrison Smith, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, who said yes, and Samuel Sillen, editor of *Masses and Mainstream*, who said no.

In his supposedly non-committal introduction Boutell wrote: "It is now a matter of record in court that Judith Coplon destroyed the manuscript of a novel on which she was at work out of fear of persecution."

It is a matter of record that Judith Coplon *said* she destroyed this manuscript.

WESTBROOK PEGLER'S scrapbook, if the Hearst columnist keeps one, is slowly but surely being filled with editorials from the New York *Post Home News*. Most of the anti-Pegler editorials to see print thus far have come from the typewriter of the *Post's* new editor, James A. Wechsler.

On June 27 Wechsler said:

"The killers of William Lurye, I. L. G. W. U. organizer, have been indicted but not yet apprehended. And Westbrook Pegler, who specializes in labor reporting when the villains are union organizers, still hasn't mentioned the case.

On the following day Wechsler added:

"Not long ago Westbrook Pegler sadly confessed that innocent men and women have been hurt by reckless smears. Somebody must have promptly told Peg he was softening up; yesterday he was his robust self again. His *Journal-American* column contained a sentence which may appear in high-school textbooks as the classic example of guilt by association: 'Although of course there is no charge of perjury against Mrs. Roosevelt in the Hiss case, she is co-defendant in a figurative sense because Hiss is a protégé of Felix Frankfurter, who has been a power behind the throne ever since the New Deal began.' And Westbrook Pegler is a Communist because he played poker with Heywood Broun who was called a Communist by Martin Dies."

WALTER LIPPMANN, columnist for the *Herald Tribune* and other newspapers, and Charles Merz, editor of the *Times*, were considered capable of engaging in "subversive activities," in the eyes of the FBI in 1918. The disclosure was made public on June 27 in a letter to the editor of the Washington *Post* from Heber Blankenhorn, former New York newspaperman and army officer. Blankenhorn wrote:

"The current self-exposure of FBI 'reports' is no surprise to government officials, including military, who have long feared that 'FBI procedures would come into the open some day and blow up.' Excuses such as have appeared in your columns that the FBI reports 'were unevaluated because expected to be kept confidential' do not impress experienced officials. 'Evaluation' is the hoariest of the false whiskers on a situation they have long had to deal with."

During the First World War, he added, Lippmann and Merz, then military intelligence officers serving under him, were adjudged "disloyal" because of their past connections with the *New Republic*. According to Blankenhorn, the FBI reports on which this finding was based were "a hash of published fact, scary gossip, and balderdash evaluation." Nevertheless, they had convinced the War Department that the men should be relieved of their duties at once. Blankenhorn was informed of the charges by General Pershing's aide. Astounded, he told the aide that the founder of the "subversive" *New Republic*, Major Willard Straight, "so much a Republican that he opposed the reelection of President Wilson" and "a member, on leave, of J. P. Morgan and Co.," could be found at a nearby corps headquarters. The matter was dropped.

Neither the *Herald Tribune* nor the *Times* commented on the Blankenhorn letter. The *Compass* reprinted the entire letter on its editorial page on June 28; the New York *Post Home News* used a lengthy account by Charles Van Devander.

[Tim Taylor's page will be discontinued after this week because of the space restrictions of our smaller summer issues.]

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

ON "THE MODERN TEMPER"

BY JOSEPH KRAFT

TWENTY years have gone since Joseph Wood Krutch first published his confessional study "The Modern Temper." To say that in this time Mr. Krutch has provoked extremes of either anger or joy, to say that his book, as important books will, accomplished or announced a revolution in thought would be to overstate the case. The original reviewers approved Mr. Krutch's probity and recognized his gray despair as valid if chronic. Later critics have placed Mr. Krutch's name in the literary histories as a symbol of either post-war disillusion or pre-depression failure of nerve. And doubtless these historians are right: whatever case of jitters its author may represent, the book itself is symbolic, is in fact a brilliant statement of what, for most of its readers, must have been commonplace.

Yet there is good reason for taking up these commonplaces again. Mr. Krutch's own temper recommends his philosophy. As his latest book, that entrancing collection of bucolic essays "The Twelve Seasons," suggests, he is the owner of an austere but robust humor which bespeaks high purpose. And it is not unreasonable to suppose a connection between his comic spirit and the bleak stoicism of "The Modern Temper." For whatever the dependency of great religion on a confession of faith, great humor almost never exists without a confession of disbelief. Pessimism, it would seem, sharpens the appetite for merriment. To know, as Dr. Johnson did, that "human life is everywhere a state in which much is to be endured and little to be enjoyed" is to value, as Dr. Johnson did, the little that is enjoyable. Moreover, to accept the limitations of human life is to enlarge the possibilities for human laughter. When we recognize that we can no longer be the victors, the foolishness of our quest for the spoils tickles the fancy with a jest that is noble because it involves renunciation, and ironically risible because we have renounced what is not ours. Accordingly, though it is chimerical to suppose that by embracing Mr. Krutch's skepticism we may duplicate his wit, it is at least conceivable that by apprehending his doubt we may cock the humorous triggers of our own minds.

The nature of Mr. Krutch's doubt is best introduced by Herman Melville's portentous confession: "It was the whiteness of the whale that above all things appalled me." It is the whiteness of the world that above all things appalls Mr. Krutch. A world once dappled by the brush of the human imagination has, he holds, been bleached by the science of the human mind. "The universe becomes more and more what experience has revealed, less and less what imagination has created." Art becomes a neurological problem, love a quiet sweating of palms, and reason the rationalization of desires that are glandular. But the glandular world, though it has been mapped by the human intelligence, is not man's world. For "what man knows is everywhere at war with what man wants." When what we want to feel is that God is on our side, it is not much use to learn that there is no God. And when we seek a vindication of Christian morality, it is cold comfort to be told that there is no such thing as morality.

Moreover, the coldness of the comfort is something more bitter than the pouting disappointment of not receiving fondly anticipated flattery. Man can no longer tell whether he is being flattered by his reason or not. "The world which his reason and investigation reveal is a world which his emotions cannot comprehend." What the skeptical Montaigne once hailed as the "soul's privilege of reducing to her own conditions all that she apprehends" is a privilege that no longer obtains. For the reports of our physicists and sociologists do not even correspond to our feelings, which, though they may welcome the sun and abhor poverty, cannot be touched by atoms or social classes. Indeed, these reports weaken man as much as they baffle him. For intelligence when it passes from low cunning to high abstraction becomes a vital liability that inhibits rather than aids effective action. "It puts the man or race which possesses it at a disadvantage in dealing with those whose intelligence faithfully serves their purpose by enabling them to scheme for their ends and to justify to themselves their desires." Man, in other words, needs a colored world to stimulate his energies. He cannot fight corpuscles or paint pictures in order to tingle the ganglia. And though science —the reporter on the scene who cables us our only credible information—may be the most notable example of the disinterested intelligence, interest, some bias in favor of ourselves, is the staff of life.

Yet, Mr. Krutch goes on, no extravagant sorrow need be wasted on modern man, blinded as he is by the white glare of all-pervading atheism and groping his way without a stick. His way is the way of the world. Those creatures who betray their interest in life, condition their will to live, and relax their concern for the species by allowing their minds to play on what may be true but cannot, ultimately, be useful are always replaced by a more primitive creature, superior in the biologic virtues and attentive only to survival. Modern man, like Roman man, will be displaced by a wave of barbarians. His fate, though assured, is not unique. And until the deluge he may, as Mr. Krutch has demonstrated in his own life, follow that humane tradition which has been reared in apparent defiance of an animal world.

Already the tide of barbarism has advanced far enough to obliterate a part of Mr. Krutch's landscape, and one revision is urgent. Mr. Krutch, who had seen the future and noted a few flaws, suggested at the end of his book that the "simple and terrible" optimism of the Russians might fit them for the role

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of the new barbarian. Without in the least challenging this claim it seems fair to say that the Russians have no monopoly in this matter. Enough thoughtless energy has recently been expended by Dutchmen, Americans, and Burmese, for instance, to suggest that the displacement of modern man will be intra- rather than international.

Yet if the man of the future is already in our midst, so too is his predecessor, the modern man. And for that generation of modern man which has come of age since 1929 "The Modern Temper" provides not only a brilliant but an almost unique statement of a common plight. For since 1929, in the clang of depression, war, and communism, the voice of modern man has been as the tinkling of cymbals. Doubtless, even if he had been heard, he would not have supplied a resolute program for remedial action. But his views bespeak a certain Augustan sanity, and it is perhaps possible, by extrapolating from "The Modern Temper," to express what must be a fairly large, though diffident, body of opinion in respect to the two main political phenomena of our day, World War II and communism.

The war did not come as a shock to the new and possibly the last generation of modern man. We were probably as efficient at the business of killing and bed-making as any of our ancestors. But heroism did not beget ecstasy, and tedium and filth provoked no outraged indignation. The war did not open our eyes or stir our souls. It was something almost expected, a part of the all-pervading whiteness of a world that knew no distinction between *c'est la guerre* and *c'est la vie*. Thus if we fail to write great war novels it is because there is virtually nothing to write about. When nothing has been betrayed, there is nothing to resist. When so little has been ventured, the gain is hardly worth a celebration. And accordingly, a war which must have been the greatest threat to the existence of our race can excite in modern man no more than distaste.

Communism is probably not a threat to the race, but certainly it will end life as we have lived it. Yet our reaction to communism and to those former friends who have embraced it is not one of horror. Nor are we particularly impressed with the much-bruited diabolical cleverness of the Communists. Indeed, if there is any surprise it is at the absurd naivete of their hopes and fears. How can they possibly impute conspiracy to our gentle and unforbidding presence? By what delusion of mind can they embrace the materialist fallacy that better things alone make better living? And by what twist of logic can they hold that by teaching to "ignorant men most violent ways" they can eventually achieve most peaceful ways? We who have ceased to believe in salvation can only marvel at their conversion. But manners are things we can understand, and the Communist manner a thing we have to deplore. The rasp and rant, the simple-minded certitude, and more, the assertion and attempted demonstration of the proposition that it is good to be poor, simple, ignorant, and dirty—this, at least irritates us. Perhaps it is only our hygienic inhibitions that are offended. But these inhibitions constitute our taste; and taste being all that we feel, we intend to stand by it.

It would be absurd to argue that such a stand constituted a sturdy bulwark against communism. And to people more intensely engaged in the strife, to show only distaste for the enemy is a passive form of treachery. But the point is that for the moderns intensity is impossible, and only grace, humor, and work remain. If we are playing truant to duty we may, before the final reckoning, at least produce something that is worth while for itself. If we are fated, we may at least allow our humor to cheer our fate. As Mr. Krutch himself once said, "Some Rome is always burning, but that does not make every fiddler a Nero."

[*Next week: On Not Being a Best-Seller, by Joseph Wood Krutch.*]

Planning and Free Trade

A CHARTER FOR WORLD TRADE. By Clair Wilcox. The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

SO MANY things have happened since we were doing our post-war international planning that we are likely to forget the three great institutions which were supposed to promote the stabilization and expansion of the world economy—the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the In-

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ternational Trade Organization. The first two, though in being, have taken a back seat because their resources are inadequate to cope with the unforeseen magnitude of economic disruption; the third, though accepted by representatives of more than fifty nations at Havana, is still to be ratified by the United States. Even if adopted, it will not go completely into operation until —and if—the emergency passes.

Professor Wilcox of Swarthmore, who played a leading role in negotiating the Havana charter, explains and defends it, both in detail and in general, in this useful handbook. Expert guidance is necessary for anyone who wants to understand the complexities of this important subject.

The ostensible purpose of the charter is clear enough. It aims to reduce or eliminate the barriers to world trading which, beginning with World War I, were never abandoned in the prosperous 1920's, were aggravated and multiplied in the subsequent depression, and were perforce emphasized during the recent war. The United States, with its reciprocal trade agreements inaugurated under Secretary Hull, has fought a steady warfare against high and discriminatory tariffs. But these are the least of the obstacles to widespread multilateral trading. Others are import quotas, exchange control, rationing, discriminatory bulk buying, hidden tariffs imposed by internal taxes or regulations, export subsidies, cartel agreements, and burdensome regulations or procedures by customs officials. The complexity of the charter arises from the fact that it attempts to devise practical means of dealing with each of the multifarious trade barriers.

There would be no problem if all the nations were ready to agree to abolish outright all obstructions to the freedom of trade which in principle they accept. But each is reluctant to abandon controls adopted for specific purposes or in behalf of special interests. Even the United States, which for fifteen years has been the great apostle of trade expansion, and has insisted on the insertion of promises to promote it in every international economic agreement during and since the war, wants quotas, export subsidies, and commodity agreements where the shoe pinches politically, as in agriculture. The result is that the Havana charter is riddled with "escape clauses." The detailed provisions of these clauses, however, forbid some of the worst abuses of the past, and could considerably improve the situation. Fear of this improvement on the part of protected interests is probably what has delayed consideration of the charter by Congress and may in the end defeat it.

Escape clauses adopted in behalf of the United States, by far the strongest economic nation in the world, are minor compared with those insisted upon by others in a weaker position. We do not impose and have no present intention of imposing many nationalistic curbs on trade. Aside from routine and unimportant regulations most of the escape clauses arise from the needs of other participants in the negotiations. Chaos might ensue if restrictions were removed before the end of the post-war emergency. Britain, for instance, needs exchange controls and import restrictions until its balance-of-payments problem is solved. A second type of escape is demanded by nations which intend to protect their economies from unemployment and fear the effect of a new depression in the United States, against which they might wish to insulate themselves. Ways to permit trade control in the present or possible future emergencies were discovered which would not too greatly interfere with the ultimate aim. A third group, of undeveloped nations, insisted on the right to foster their own industrialization as nations have almost invariably done in the past. Ways also were found to permit this while moderating some of the more shortsighted or discriminatory policies.

In view of the intricate difficulties which the nations faced at Havana, one cannot help being thankful that this country outlawed any state interference with interstate commerce when it adopted the Constitution. In spite of that provision some barriers have been allowed to develop, but if the separate states had spent the last century or so trying to protect their several interests at their borders and then had met in conference as sovereign entities to get rid of these encumbrances by voluntary agreement, they probably would not have got very far. The suspicion that the great productive achievements of this country arise in large part from the fact that it is the largest free-trading area in

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the world had much to do with the willingness of others even to consider a reversal of their policy.

One cannot escape the foreboding that the I. T. O. will never fully accomplish its purposes. This world of ours lives through one emergency after another; normal stability never arrives. Every emergency gives rise to new controls. Even the golden age of the apostles of laissez faire was subject to more organization from the dominant financial center in London than is often understood. How can the international interest in expanding production and in specialization be promoted by the self-denying action of fifty or more separate sovereign nations? The chance will be greatly improved if we can manage to get through a generation or more without war or serious depression, which share the responsibility for the worst of the obstructions. But to avoid depression requires appropriate policies, applied both nationally and internationally. There is little to be said for the planning of international trade in competitive national interests. Yet this planning seems to have arisen as a defense against the vagaries of an unplanned economy. Perhaps the answer lies, not in a halting attempt merely to remove barriers, but in combining that attempt with vigorous planning on an international scale.

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Understanding Eliot

T. S. ELIOT: THE DESIGN OF HIS POETRY. By Elizabeth Drew. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.

AS AN attempt to explain the coherence and meaning of T. S. Eliot's poetry in terms of its archetypal patterns Miss Drew's book represents the happy conjunction of two leading strains in our criticism, one approaching its end, the other just now really beginning. The first strain, nearing its climax and, doubtless, its conclusion, is the very special concern of our criticism with Mr. Eliot as a subject. Two recent volumes of critical essays collected by B. Rajan in England and Leonard Unger in America have presented in dramatic summary the effort of the last twenty years to make T. S. Eliot the poet assimilable in terms of T. S. Eliot the critic. There has always been an intriguing gap—*not* a contradiction—between Eliot's precept and practice; so that the exponents of the "new criticism," which is in large part Eliotic criticism, have returned again and again to the poetry of their master.

It is no accident that an anthology of analyses of Eliot's verse is a representative collection of the best poetic analysis of our time. It has long been clear that the fate of a generation, a chosen sensibility, a way of writing and understanding writing are at stake in the attempt to arrive at a self-consistent understanding of T. S. Eliot. That attempt has neared success at the very moment that Eliot has won more universal acclaim. In his own time he has become an Ancestor to all serious writers of verse; but the Nobel prize has made him too, at least as a name, a leading poet for those who read the newspapers though not "The Waste Land."

Such recognition by the outside respectable world, which had so long demurred, gives to the recent spate of writing by long-time admirers—the anthologies, magazine articles, a reissue of Matthiesen's pioneering book, Delmore Schwartz's long-promised study at last imminent—the combined air of a victory celebration and a communal *Festschrift*. One could do no more even for the dead!

There remains now the task of documenting a success, of making available an accepted talent, in place of the old obligation of proselytizing for an outsider in the teeth of organized scorn. It is one of the virtues of Miss Drew's book that it recognizes in tone and level the new obligation implied in Eliot's new status. If it is less exciting than some earlier studies, it is less shrill; if it is not so radically illuminating as the earlier insights, it has the advantages of lucidity. There is something symbolic in its having been suggested by an article in the most stolid of scholarly journals, but it is neither pedantic nor dull. It meets, I think, the needs of those new readers who will be coming to read Eliot, not as a gesture of revolt and emancipation, but with a sense of his place in the tradition.

Miss Drew has found in one of the newest strains of recent criticism the method for such an explication, turning to an approach that has been variously called "myth criticism" and "archetypal analysis." The method is suggested by Eliot himself in a review of "Ulysses" long ignored but recently brought back into the spotlight. Eliot has never exploited the method very far elsewhere, cut off from its full implications, I think, by a temperamental distrust of psychology.

The analyst of archetypes finds in literature certain master metaphorical patterns, common to a whole civilization, that express a total and *felt* comprehension of life, existing before and persisting beyond the analytical and atomized understandings of philosophy, science, religious dogma, and so on. The anthropologists, like Frazer, whom Eliot read and respected, thought such patterns only reached us as survivals of ancient rituals, of which the "myth" proper is the spoken part; but the investigations of dream symbols by Freud and especially Jung, of whom Eliot does not approve, have indicated that the ancient archetypes are continually rediscovered in sleep or distress, drawn out of a "collective unconscious." Maude Bodkin in her book "Archetypal Patterns in Literature" (overlooked in Miss Drew's bibliography) first successfully applied Jungian analysis to literature; but though her work is fifteen years old, it has just now begun to bear fruit.

I find Miss Drew's application of Jungian archetypes illuminating and apt, especially for the later poems. She does not, however, make sufficiently

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clear the fact that such analysis explains only motifs and cannot hope to evaluate technique or form, that it is a partial method and a necessary regression from the primarily formal approach encouraged by Eliot himself. The book's chief shortcoming, however, lies in a failure to distinguish among the various levels at which mythic materials enter the body of Eliot's poetry: the completely unconscious coherence of metaphors in any long work into archetypal patterns; the deliberate exploitation of myth, in the ironic-symbolic parallelism of mythic and real in "The Waste Land"; the old and perhaps not completely realized implications of such concepts as the Four Elements; the very few Christian archetypes, few because Eliot must stay inside them; the stereotypes of Jew and Foreigner, intolerably degraded myths, that have crept from the drawing-room into the earliest, snobbish verse.

Miss Drew's book is useful and lucid, astonishingly open considering the complexity of its subject, but as an application of Jungian concepts to the body of Eliot's work it marks merely a beginning. LESLIE A. FIEDLER

Pity the Parent!

THE PROBLEM FAMILY. By A. S. Neill. Hermitage Press. $2.75.

YOUR CHILD'S MIND AND BODY. By Flanders Dunbar, M. D. Random House. $2.95.

THESE two books are the last word in the ultra-progressive school of child-raising—guaranteed to throw any mother into a panic of insecurity about her own inadequacies. For unless the mother who reads these books is prepared to give her child love, tenderness, and affection twenty-four hours a day, 365 days a year, she will come away convinced that she is a basically hostile and unworthy person. They are both filled with dire predictions of the consequences of inadequate parental care—including a variety of psychosomatic disorders (Dunbar) or even cancer (Neill).

This latest trend in parental guidance is very difficult on the modern parent who is already overwhelmed by a host of other insecurities—political, marital, and economic. Fortunately, however, the average modern parent is slowly becoming desensitized to the advice contained in books such as these. The awareness is slowly growing that the perfect child has yet to be raised, that no magic formula is available as yet, and one has to inhibit, discipline, or even disturb a child if he is to have a fighting chance to survive in our complex world.

These two volumes represent a full swing of the pendulum in the direction of permissiveness and lack of direction in the raising of children. The formula is obviously an oversimplified one, for it is much too easy to blame all the ills of mankind on a lack of mother love. The fact is: no parent has ever given a child all the love which he could potentially absorb. If this becomes our exclusive measuring rod of psychic trauma, every unsuspecting parent can only be filled with a sense of guilt and inadequacy. MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

"This Serene Pacific"

THE SPELL OF THE PACIFIC. Selected and Edited by Carl Stroven and A. Grove Day. The Macmillan Company. $6.50.

THE new water world of the Pacific, like the new land world of the Americas, made an ineffaceable impression on the imagination of Western man. "To any meditative Magian rover," Melville wrote, "this serene Pacific, once beheld, must ever after be the sea of his adoption." To their discoverers its archipelagoes were types of a terrestrial paradise—"Marquesas and glenned isles that be/ Authentic Edens in a Pagan sea." Its immensities included such infernos as the jungle of New Guinea or the dead heart of Australia. It is these Pacific worlds—the "new Cythereas" of Polynesia and Micronesia, the tropic landscapes of Melanesia and the Philippines, the back country of New Zealand and Australia—that the compilers of this full and excellently edited anthology have chosen for their subject.

Their selections are drawn from the whole range of Pacific literature—narratives of explorers, missionaries, travelers, scientists; folklore, fiction, and poetry. One meets names and passages one would expect: Melville in the valley of Typee; Henry Adams watching the dancing-girls of Tutuila; extracts from Pigafetta (Magellan's scribe), Cook, Bougainville, La Pérouse; from Darwin and Huxley; from Pierre Loti, Gauguin, Stevenson, C. W. Stoddard, Rupert Brooke. One also makes fresh finds, such as John Martin's account of Will Mariner, adopted as a boy of fifteen into the household of a Tongan chief; or Charis Crockett's description of the Sainke Doek of New Guinea with their strange treasure of cloth from the vanished marts of Ternate and Tidore; or, in the sections on New Zealand and Australia, with their contrasting emphasis on the harsh life of the frontier, Katherine Mansfield's "The Woman at the Store" and Charles Bean's description of the abandoned sheep country on the desert rim of Australia.

But whatever the variety and diversity of the material, the editors have so chosen and arranged it that the anthology strikes one fundamental note. The title is not a mere cliché. As we follow for each island group the record of impressions from the days of the discoverers until World War II, the whole book composes around the theme of Melville's poem "To Ned," the nostalgic theme of a never-to-be-repeated ex-

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perience in the life of the race, the fading glow that the imagination traces back to its morning freshness—

But, tell, shall he, the tourist, find
  Our isles the same in violet-glow
Enamoring us what years and years—
  Ah, Ned, what years and years ago!
Well, Adam advances, smart in pace,
But scarce by violets that advance you trace.

But we, in anchor-watches calm,
  The Indian Psyche's languor won,
And, musing, breathed primeval balm
  From Edens ere yet overrun;
Marvelling mild if mortal twice,
Here and hereafter, touch a Paradise.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Verse Chronicle

WITH Mr. Lewis's puzzle crowded out of these pages twice within the last month, the chronicler of verse has felt no pressing urgency to clutter the columns further. Spring and early summer seem to be a rather slack time in the publication of poetry; nevertheless, in addition to the usual unmentionable product of the Vanity presses, quite a few items have come in, and it is high time to straighten up the desk a little.

The "Selected Poems" of William Carlos Williams (New Directions, $1.50) are introduced with an essay, both enthusiastic and convincing, by Randall Jarrell. A job well done; one can believe every word, and yet—. And yet, having read the introduction with delight, and the poems with new interest and attention, I find myself of the same opinion still with regard to Dr. Williams's work: this is the kind of poetry I think I should admire rather than the kind I know I do enjoy. If this is not sheer obstinacy of temperament, the clue to an almost embarrassing sense of dissatisfaction perhaps lies in a remark of Dr. Williams, quoted by Mr. Jarrell, about the nature of poetry: "A poem is a small (or large) machine made of words." And then too, in spite of Dr. Williams's admirable, and lauded, boldness, I seem to detect a certain amount of diffidence. A reluctance, however great, to commit the sentimental cliché does not quite justify turning a deaf ear to some of the demands, in music, in metric, in rhyme even, that one's content seems to be making; The Yachts, for instance, a poem that Mr. Jarrell praises as "a paradigm of all the unjust beauty, the necessary and unnecessary injustice of the world," is a poem that seems, at its beginning, to be practically demanding to be heard in *terza rima*, a demand so insistent that even Dr. Williams recognizes it, and permits it, for a few introductory lines, and once in a while thereafter seems to be listening to, however uneasily, even while giving it summary dismissal. I wish Dr. Williams's generosity and exactness would carry him a little farther, and feed into his work as much excellence of ear as there is, already, importance of eye.

In "The Edge of Being" (Random House, $2.50) Stephen Spender seems to me to be becoming increasingly vague, incantatory, rapt, and dull. England is a land whose people recently have been through great trial and great heroism; I hope it is not unfair to suggest that the apocalyptic British literary attitude is pretty tiresome? *Nimis poeta es*, Mr. Spender; come down to earth.

"Exile, and Other Poems," by St.-John Perse, are presented, handsomely, in a bilingual edition, with the original French and excellent translations by the Irish poet Denis Devlin (Pantheon Books, The Bollingen Series XV, $5). Whereas Spender's poetry seems attenuated and ethereal, that of Perse is rank and lush, a tropical luxuriance of vocabulary even when his subject is the snow, the line proliferating, creeping and stretching out, it seems to me at times, beyond the intensity of poetry into oratory or rhapsodic prose. In addition to the actual poems this book contains introductory notes, essays on Perse by Archibald MacLeish, Roger Caillois, and Alain Bosquet, and a bibliography.

"By Avon River," by H. D. (Macmillan, $2.50) is a memorial for the Shakespeare Day of the year 1945; half the book is taken up with a long poem, in three parts, and half with an essay on Elizabethan lyrics and lyricists. The poem has the characteristic delicacy and grace for which the writer is distinguished; a little more extended than her usual efforts, and weaving in considerably more rhyme, it is an airy, sometimes wandering, performance, hinting not only of Claribel but also of Ophelia. And more than a tendency to wander makes the essay difficult to read with concentration; the sentences are gracious and lovely, the quotations generous, the information relevant, and the conclusions modest, but a kind of distrait air makes the total a bit distracting.

Finally, we have that comparative rarity, a first book by a young American poet, and, as is usual in such cases, the edition is limited, and the publisher not a large house. In this instance the author is Herbert Cahoon, who calls his collection "Thanatopsis"; the publisher is The Tiger's Eye. The price of the book is $4, which seems a little steep compared with, say, the price of the Perse volume. Combining surrealist and imagist techniques, Mr. Cahoon achieves a delicacy and control of statement, a carefulness and a poise, which produce, if not the full-rounded poem, at least interesting sketches for poems.

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Books in Brief

THE ROME-BERLIN AXIS. By Elizabeth Wiskemann. Oxford. $5. A detailed history of the uneasy partnership between Mussolini and Hitler. The material—much of it quoted from letters, diaries, and documents, and some of it hitherto unpublished—is voluminous and fascinating; its presentation is lucid and scholarly.

OSCAR WILDE. By André Gide. Philosophical Library. $2.75. An English translation of André Gide's touching memoir of five meetings with Oscar Wilde, the first in 1891, the last in

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1898. With admirable austerity Gide contrasts the attractive airs and easy fables of Wilde's early manner with the excruciating humility of the man that returned from Reading Gaol. Wilde, Gide writes, "talked and lived his wisdom, imprudently intrusting it to the fluid memory of men, as if inscribing it on water." Gide here justifies the trust: the fluid inscription becomes lapidary.

HOW SECURE THESE RIGHTS? By Ruth G. Weintraub. Doubleday. $2. A concise and sober survey of anti-Semitism in the United States in 1948. Here are no arguments, no emotions, only cold facts and statistics. The record, which is compiled by the Anti-Defamation League, shows a slight, but only a slight, improvement over the preceding year.

BUILDING FOR MODERN MAN. Edited by Thomas H. Creighton. Princeton. $3.50. A collection of papers by America's leading architects and planners delivered at the Princeton Bicentennial Conference. Mostly shop talk, but with occasional flashes of illumination for the layman, particularly in the exchange between Frank Lloyd Wright and Robert Moses.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE film industry has moved with a scythe and a prayer into a golden period of civic uplift, sparked by soul-savers bent on a joyless excision of every social wart—Jew-baiting, Jim Crow, philistinism in art, bookmaking, dope addiction, non-democratic administration, euthanasia. The bloodlessly earnest psychiatry movie is another sleep-making example; like a busy St. George, it hacks away at everything from destructive parenthood to Bedlam asylum conditions. Through its primer-simple, roseate presentation Hollywood has sold psychiatry to an audience which only a few years ago rated it as phony as wrestling and as dangerous to mankind as a loaded cigar butt.

The static conditions of real-life psychoanalysis—couch-pinned heroes, plot buried in the patient's subconscious, expensive free associations—are not a hot subject for an action-hungry medium. Realizing this, screen writers have linked psychiatry to the violent story—murder, war, catastrophic insanity—thrill-exploited everything from shock treatment to extra-sensory perception, melodramatically juiced therapy for as much terror as possible: the hypodermic needle is always aimed at the audience's heart. While seeming to accept the fact of scrambled psyches and their scientific rearrangement, the movies have concentrated only on spectacular symptoms like paralysis and on patients too severely disturbed to fall within general experience—in the filming of a street-common ailment like alcoholism psychiatry never shows its rehabilitating face. Hollywood might succeed in distressing its audience if it filmed the suffering of an everyday neurotic (a few early films like "Now Voyager" went in that direction); as it is, the sensational collapse-therapy-cure cycle works like a barbiturate. The average fan is no longer surprised when the movie Horowitz freezes on the Polonaise, expects him to be chucked into a new and photogenic device like the Orgone Box, awaits impassively the flashback to a fateful day when the hero was lashed to the piano to make him practice.

Of the currently fashionable movie characters—morally inflamed cowboys, unprincipled athletes, the Holy Ghost of a psychiatrist—the last is the most oafishly glamorized. Even directors like Hitchcock, Robson, Huston, Litvak, Meyers of "The Quiet One" lose their nerve when the irreproachable analyst angel-flaps onto the screen: at these points the story looks like a paid ad for the American Psychoanalytic Association. The movie psychiatrist—haunting the ward at 3 a.m. to cheer up his patients! —rates higher in the film firmament than the Catholic priest or the FBI agent. The role of this Dr. Ingenious Bland is played by a "square" actor like Ingrid Bergman or Leo Genn, who habitually performs with ponderous self-consciousness and both feet on the Oscar. Only Chekhov (a slapstick Freud in "Spellbound") and Corey (the noisy, sickle-like doctor in "Home of the Brave") have shown any glee in the part; the others have all been stuffed so full of heavy, dull, unparticularized virtues that they have the constricted look of people doing a public service, like air-raid wardens. Yet compared to his real-life counterpart, the movie therapist has a soft snatch: where he sees only a few troublesome traits that have to be scrubbed off the patient, the real analyst knows that the analysand's everything—posture, wife, type of tie—will have to go; the screen genius has a deadline two days hence, while the other finds himself in the situation of Magellan still in Portugal; Dr. I. Bland is only called on to ferret out one big childhood trauma, but Dr. Central Park West flounders in a lifetime's dirty laundry of personal data.

The formularized psychoanalysis in current films is a product of the *Popular Science* mentality: the director goes overboard for gadgets and a drugstore version of Freud. Mechanical procedure is the whole battle; once the patient, juiced by electricity, drug, or doctor ("Think, think, you've got to remember!") starts recalling his one trauma—straining like a man lifting the Woolworth Building—the cure follows immediately. The documentary filming of machinery—loading the hypodermic needle, identifying the ink spots, turning the knobs of the shock machine—produces the most effective scenes. Stripped of emotional difficulties and subtleties, unpredictable consequences, analyst-patient realignments, the therapy you are shown is a dull memory game. Subjective material—dreams, free association, unconscious imagery—which the shiny instruments are a means of getting at, is concretized and made immobile by these Boy-Scientists. The dreams in "Spellbound" are turned into little surrealistic maps, those in "Blind Alley" (refilmed as "The Dark Past") are just

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as arbitrarily represented by what looks like the linear version of a film negative. It is disconcerting that the director always credits the patient with total cinematic recall, instead of showing the blurred, spotty, personalized texture of spontaneous recollection. The psychiatry film looks like the kitchen of tomorrow, lined with labor-killing devices, in which the patient's poor addled soul is pressure-cooked into a functional, flavorless stew to fill the stomach of respectable society.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

UNTIL now I have heard only the new RCA Victor 45 r.p.m. recordings of Stokowski's performance of the music from Tchaikovsky's "The Sleeping Beauty" and Toscanini's performance of Tchaikovsky's "Pathetique." Victor has made a point of its new records and reproducers being designed for each other; but neither of these two recordings was made originally for the 45 r.p.m. system; and each of these 45 r.p.m. versions—reproduced by a Victor player attachment through my Brook amplifier—sounded vastly inferior to the original 78 r.p.m. version. On 78 the Stokowski performance was brilliant and lustrous; on 45 it is muffled. And the Toscanini performance comes off the new records with strange distortions of volume.

Judgment of the new Victor system for the quality of its reproduction must be deferred until recordings have been issued that were made expressly for it; but even if these recordings turn out to produce the perfection Victor claims for them, the system is open to strong objections. Its 7-inch record with only 5½ minutes of music on a side retains the disturbing breaks in continuous pieces of music which the Columbia LP record with more than 20 minutes to the 12-inch side gets rid of (Victor has explained why it puts no more on the 7-inch record, but not why it doesn't put all that could be put on a 12-inch). The record-changer doesn't eliminate the breaks in the music, but merely takes care of the other annoyance of the short record—having to change the record every four or five minutes; and here again the Columbia LP provides the better solution and one that is progressive where the Victor is the opposite, since the Victor retains a mechanism with possibilities of mechanical trouble which the Columbia eliminates—except for the person who objects to getting up even once in twenty-odd minutes. These features would be things to object to in the Victor system even if the speed were the 33⅓ r.p.m. that I was reliably informed it was as late as last September; but another thing open to perhaps the strongest objection of all—because of its consequences to record buyers and sellers—is the 45 r.p.m. speed that seems to have been adopted arbitrarily as still another feature to make the Victor system different from the Columbia.

Columbia also is open to criticism—for the uneven quality of recording from one LP record to the next, and for the quality of the reproducing equipment it has itself sponsored. I have already mentioned the motors of the new Columbia player attachment that run either too fast or too slow and sometimes unsteadily; I will add now that one I tried (with the Beecham recording of Sibelius's Seventh) produced through my Brook amplifier a sound that was extremely deficient in bass (it may be that the pickup is equalized to fit the usual radio-phonograph with too much bass).

This new Columbia player uses the new Astatic CQ-J cartridge, which can be used also in an Astatic arm with different equalization and with another motor. I intend to try it and to report the results later.

What should the buyer of records and reproducing equipment do? He will want some Columbia LP recordings which are better than the 78 r.p.m. versions; he will want some 78's which are better than the LP versions; he will want the good things in the Victor catalogue on 78. He will therefore want equipment that reproduces both 78 and LP. And if the Victor recordings made expressly for the 45 r.p.m. system turn out to be as remarkable as promised, and better than the 78 versions, he can simply acquire the Victor attachment to play them on.

There is pleasure to be had from the Columbia album of "Kiss Me, Kate"—from Cole Porter's lyrics and some of his tunes (though I couldn't hear the words clearly in some of the fast songs, and they are not given in the album). But I got even more pleasure from the Columbia album of "South Pacific"—from the Rodgers melodies as well as the Hammerstein lyrics, and from the extraordinary charm of Mary Martin. I heard only the 78 r.p.m. recordings, of which the "South Pacific" was excellent but the "Kiss Me, Kate" had a boomy bass.

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Letters to the Editors

A Good Man

Dear Sirs: These asinine investigations of Dave Lilienthal give me pains in the wrong places. During his thirty years of public life he has been more watched than any goldfish, and no one has ever found anything about Dave that was not kind, fair, honest, decent, and in the best interest of this republic. He has come up to one of the most important jobs in all history—though the salary is only about what the owner of a delicatessen store makes. People will live better in all the coming generations because of Dave Lilienthal.

CARROLL E. BROWN

Chicago, June 23

Partial Complete Agreement

Dear Sirs: May I comment in my turn on your editorial comment, headed Recession Progress, on my article No Depression If—, both in *The Nation* of June 25.

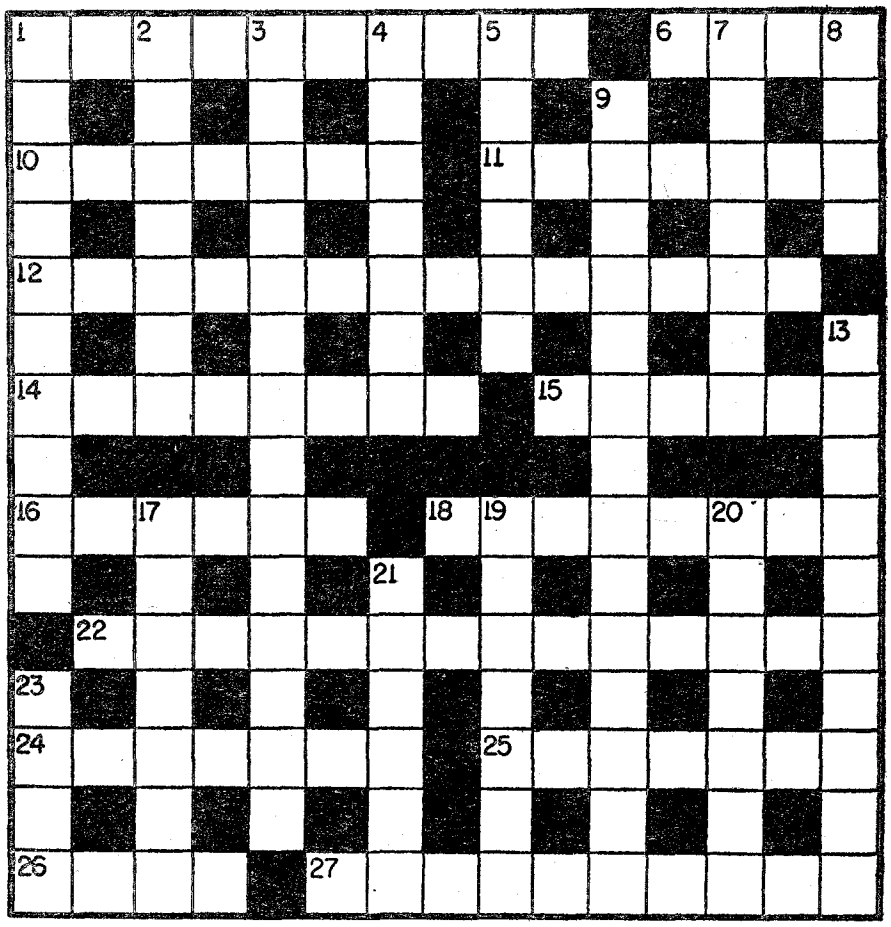
Your comment consists in the main of three points: (1) You see no such conflict "between the policies of Leon Keyserling and Edwin G. Nourse" as I discerned. (2) You consider "no benefit whatsoever could occur if all prices and all incomes went up or down by exactly the same amount." (3) "Unemployment is merely a negative name for reserve labor power, which, put to work, can greatly increase wealth and welfare."

In respect to point one, I explicitly stated that the two policies were not mutually exclusive but that both could be put into effect. I did try to suggest, reserving a fuller discussion for a later article, that Mr. Keyserling's proposed policies were based largely on presumptive maladjustments which either did not exist or had ceased to exist. And that the measures designed to correct the maladjustments could so discourage private enterprise that the system might have to be superseded by one of direct government controls, a consummation which, I believe, would reduce productivity, the standard of living, and eventually liberty.

As for point two, I am completely obfuscated by your statement "No benefit, etc ..." Prices and incomes in the nature of things go up and down together. Monetary income, except for changes in the money supply, consists

Crossword Puzzle No. 318

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Faultless particle? (10)
6 This seems to indicate trouble with Rachel's heart. (4)
10 This could be stuffed. (7)
11 Renaissance of Orleans in Italy. (7)
12 Get it from grass, if you all want to get home on time. (5, 9)
14 Yard inspector associated with Baker Street. (8)
15 How the ore is attached. (6)
16 Colorful singer of the oratorio "Le Printemps". (6)
18 An untidy room in a flat? No wonder this is under foot. (8) (hyphenated)
22 Steve's jumping-off point. (8, 6)
24 It's enough to make a chap take to drink, as Henri might say. (7)
25 Manifest. (7)
26 Being the same no matter how you look at it. (4)
27 See 4.

DOWN

1 For carrying harbor papers, no doubt. (10)
2 Things about the head of 1 down which make the news. (7)
3 These eventually go to college in Washington. (9, 5)
4 and 27. His nightmare is a Savoyard tongue-twister. (3, 4, 10)
5 Attacks with stones. (6)
7 Get up in the essential part of the train. (7)
8 Seth's son—the one with the broken nose. (4)
9 Province and a sailor are clean confused! (6, 8)
13 Chief casualty? Browning said he left us just for a handful of silver. (4, 6)
17 Ordains entry points. (7)
19 Revolutionary gibbet? (7)
20 Claimed to be a sort of profession. (7)
21 Shed in a condition of degradation. (6)
23 Unit of land in Palestine.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 317

ACROSS:—1 IMPEL; 4 and 13 E PLURIBUS UNUM; 9 PEGASUS; 10 SHINGLE; 11 ROOF; 12 IGLOO; 16 ANSWERS; 17 ELEGANT; 19 TANTRUM; 22 RECIPES; 24 and 28 BACKBONE; 25 EJECT; 26 GIVE; 29 ICEBAGS; 30 TROPINE; 31 PORTRAYAL; 32 EASES.

DOWN:—1 IMPORTANT; 2 PIGEONS; 3 and 21 LESE MAJESTY; 4 ENSIGNS; 5 LISSOME; 6 RAIL; 7 BEGONIA; 8 STEAM; 14 FERRY; 15 BEACH; 18 TASTELESS; 20 and 23 NUCLEAR PHYSICS; 22 RECITAL; 24 BLIMP; 27 LAIR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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of the total of goods produced times their prices. Consequently any price drop, whether or not costs fall, results in an income drop, *ceteris paribus*. For profits too constitute income.

I must suppose that you meant to say "no benefit whatever would occur if all prices and all *wages* went up and down by exactly the same amount," on the supposition that the depression would be halted and reversed if prices fell and wages remained the same.

But this is exactly what has been happening. Prices have been falling; wages have held up, by and large. The result will be a squeeze on profit, the curtailment of capital formation and other expansions, pressure on marginal producers, the repayment of loans, the reduction of inventories and income reflected by reduced production, unemployment, in short, depression.

The problem is how to arrest the downward spiral. My thought is to stop it by spending new money, that is to say, by compensating for the reduction in private investment by increased public investment.

Consequently we agree completely on point three. HAROLD A. LOEB

Westport, Conn., June 27

[Mr. Keyserling, vice-chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, has informed us by telephone from Washington that after reading Mr. Loeb's article he feels the desire to write a reply setting forth the contemporary liberal economic position. If all goes well, this will appear in an early issue. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

The Mountebanks

Dear Sirs: Although the National Housing bill, three years too late, finally went through the House of Representatives last week, thus granting President Truman his first Fair Deal victory, a last-minute attempt by the irreconcilables—a bipartisan handful of puppets of the real-estate lobby—almost cut the heart out of the legislation. These dogged reactionaries, led by Joe Martin, Charley Halleck, Jesse Wolcott, and Ed Rees, refused to say quits even when it was altogether clear that the American people and most of their Congressmen agreed that the only way to lick the housing shortage was through a federal housing program. Just before the final vote on the bill was taken last Wednesday, this dedicated clique tried to sneak through an amendment which would have removed the public-housing provisions of the proposed law, thus reduc-

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ing it to what even the staid New York *Times* called "a housing measure without housing." The amendment, thank God, was defeated, by five slender votes. Passage of the bill itself was then almost an anti-climax.

I would like to call your readers' attention to the fact that twenty-one Representatives (twelve "Democrats" and nine Repblicans) who voted for the murderous amendment cutting public housing from the bill turned around a few minutes later and voted *for* the bill as a whole, thus putting themselves on record as being "for" housing. These twenty-one men are hypocrites; are really against housing, but, realizing the demands of their constituents for dwelling space, they did not have the courage to let their inclinations become a matter of public record. Nevertheless, their vote on the vital preliminary amendment *is* a matter of record and ought not to be forgotten. For the benefit of your readers, I should like to list these phony humanitarians. They are Republican Representatives Corbett (Pa.,) Coudert (N. Y.), Ford (Mich.), Hoffman (Ill.), Jonas (Ill.), Judd (Minn.), O'Konski (Wis.), Sadlak (Conn.). and Van Zandt (Pa.); and "Democratic" Representatives Allen (La.), Bennett (Fla.), Bentsen (Tex.), Bonner (N. C.), Brooks (La.), Grant (Ala.), Hébert (La.), Richards (S. C.), Rivers (S. C.), Rogers (Fla.), Sikes (Fla.), and Smathers (Fla.).

ROGER MAXWELL

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FROM THE POET MILTON TO PLAYWRIGHT ELMER RICE

On June 14, 1643, the English Parliament enacted a law providing that no book or other publication "shall from henceforth be printed or put to sale, unless the same be first approved of and licensed by such person or persons as both or either of the said Houses shall appoint for the licensing of same."

Whereupon John Milton, the poet, feeling his back hair rise, rolled up his sleeves and went to work on a speech. Areopagitica, he called it. It was probably the greatest statement of the case for free speech that has ever been written.

A lot of water has gone over the dam in the past 300-odd years. Wherever power accumulated in the hands of a ruling group, censorship appeared and free speech found itself on thin ice.

Never was the ice thinner than it is today. The Western democracies are the only countries where even a pretense is made to protect free speech; and even here powerful groups, in and out of the government, are doing a remarkable job of curtailing the right of free expression.

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